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ABSTRACT

Research problems and issues concerning socialization are identified in an effort to aid member agencies of the Interagency Panel on Early Childhood Research and Development in establishing priorities in research. Discussed in Part I are: (1) the development of intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors--stages in their development; the preschool child, the elementary school age and preadolescent child, the adolescent and young adult, ongoing research; (2) determinants of intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors--family, school, socioeconomic status, status mobility, competition, frustration and aggression, cooperation and friendship, group and cultural values and norms, belief congruence, other cognitive factors, personality; and (3) changing intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors--attitudes toward integration, contact and change, changes in group membership, and propaganda, informational and educational approaches to changing intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors. Discussed in Part II are: (1) sources of family income and attitudes toward these sources; (2) attitudes towards work and barriers to employment among dependent populations; and (3) impacts on the family of various types of income support. The appendix for Part I concerns factors affecting opinion change through the communication media. The appendix for Part II contains summaries of relevant research. Conclusions and a list of references are included for each part. (KM)

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RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN THE AREA OF SOCIALIZATION

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Prepared for

The Interagency Panel on

Early Childhood Research and Development

by

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PREFACE

Research Problems and Issues in the Area of Socialization is one more document produced for the Interagency Panel on Early Childhood Research and Development to assist member agencies as they plan and establish priorities in research. This particular document was prepared at the request of the Office of Child Development and, as is consistent with the policies of the Panel, is made available to all participating agencies and other interested agencies and persons.

The issues addressed in this paper are limited in scope and by no means represent the research findings in all areas dealing with socialization. However, it is believed that the basic information and syntheses provided here may aid the Panel in subsequent analysis and planning of research activities in a number of areas of socialization: (1) the development of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors; (2) the determinants of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors; (3) the changing of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors; and, (4) the relationship between various kinds of economic support for families and the development of attitudes creating dependency or independence, asocial behavior or social responsibility among children. Further, the document provides a state of the arts in the identified areas.

Thanks are extended to the members of the Interagency Panel on Early Childhood Research and Development for the information they contributed to this report, to Judith Chapman, Susan Seiderman and Yuki Carnes for their help in locating reference materials, to Yuki Carnes, Gail Hughes

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September, 1972

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE ii

TABLE OF CONTENTS iv

PART I. SOCIALIZATION DETERMINANTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND MODIFICATION OF INTERGROUP AND INTRAGROUP ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

Chapter Page

INTRODUCTION 1

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERGROUP AND INTRAGROUP ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS 4

Stages in the Development of Intergroup and Intragroup Attitudes and Behaviors 5

The Preschool Child 5

The Elementary School-Age and Preadolescent Child 23

The Adolescent and Young Adult 34

Ongoing Research 42

DETERMINANTS OF INTERGROUP AND INTRAGROUP ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS 44

The Family 45

The School 57

Socioeconomic Status 65

Status Mobility, Competition, Frustration and Aggression 72

Cooperation and Friendship 79

Group and Cultural Values and Norms 83

Belief Congruence 93

Chapter Page
Other Cognitive Factors 95
Personality 100
CHANGING INTERGROUP AND INTRAGROUP ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS 118
Attitudes Toward Integration 118
Contact and Change 125
Contact in Recreational Settings 127
Contact in Residential and Occupational Settings 129
Contact in School Settings 138
Changes in Group Membership 162
Propaganda, Informational and Educational Approaches to Changing Intergroup and Intragroup Attitudes and Behaviors 165
Propaganda and Attitude Change 166
Informational Approaches 170
Educational Approaches 173
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH 179
APPENDIX I-PART I 196
REFERENCES 205

PART II. THE IMPACT OF VARIOUS KINDS OF INCOME SUPPORT ON THE SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN

INTRODUCTION 229
SOURCES OF FAMILY INCOME AND ATTITUDES TOWARD THESE SOURCES 233
Various Sources of Family Income 233
The Relationship Between Source of Income and Societal Acceptance 237

Chapter Page

ATTITUDES TOWARDS WORK AND BARRIERS TO EMPLOYMENT AMONG DEPENDENT POPULATIONS 240

Attitudes Toward Work 240

Commitment to Employment 243

Employability of AFDC Recipients 245

Societal Barriers to Employment 249

Summary of Attitudes Toward Work, Employability and Barriers to Employment 251

IMPACTS ON THE FAMILY OF VARIOUS TYPES OF INCOME SUPPORT 253

Economic Impact on the Family of Various Types of Income Support 253

Summary of Economic Impact on Families of Various Types of Income Support 258

Impact on the Structure of the Family of Various Types of Income Support 258

Summary of Relationship Between Income Support Program, Marital Stability, Number of Children and Family Functioning 270

Impact of Various Forms of Income Support on Psychological Variables of Parents 271

Summary, Impact of Various Forms of Income Support on Psychological Variables Among Parents . . 283

The Impact on Children of Various Forms of Income Maintenance 284

Discussion of Impact on Children of Various Forms of Income Support 287

Summary, the Impact on Children of Various Forms of Income Support 292

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH . . . 295

APPENDIX 304

REFERENCES 322

PART I

SOCIALIZATION DETERMINANTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND MODIFICATION OF INTERGROUP AND INTRAGROUP ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

by

Barbara J. Sowder, M.A.

INTRODUCTION

The study of relations between and among different ethnic groups[1] and social classes and the effects of these relations upon intergroup and intragroup behavior has long preoccupied American social scientists. Within these broad research areas, a great deal of interest has been shown in socialization processes and their relationship to various parameters of social class and ethnic membership. Some of the research has been concerned with ethnic and social class differences in child rearing practices and the effects of these practices upon the attitudes and behaviors of the child toward himself and his own and other groups. Other studies have focused on the development of moral values and their relationship to ethnicity and/or social class. Still others have searched for ways in which the normative attitudes of society are transmitted to and internalized by the child through his contact with "significant others" and various institutions. In addition to the socialization studies, there have been those research efforts devoted to actual or perceived personal relationships between the subject and persons of his own or other ethnic or social class groups.

The broad areas of concern listed above have not necessarily been mutually exclusive. Often an investigator has been interested in several of these aspects at the same time. Similarly, his interest might have included the cognitive, affective and conative[2] aspects of the child's functioning or the functioning of the adult who is considered the object of study.

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[1] Following Tumin (1964), ethnic group as used in this paper is defined as a collection of people considered both by themselves and by other people to have in common one or more of the following characteristics: 1) religion, 2) racial origin (as indicated by readily identifiable physical features), 3) national origin, or 4) language and cultural traditions.

The major focus of this paper is on those selected aspects of the socialization process that determine the development of intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors. Of particular concern are those inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors that are of public concern, as opposed to those which are more central to private happiness and well-being. There is, of course, an interrelationship between private psychological processes and the more public socialized behavior which a person exhibits toward others; however, this interrelationship is far from clear as is apparent in the discussion that follows. Also unclear is the extent to which the more private psychological processes and the more public socialized behaviors are determined by various socializing influences, such as parents, peers, and other significant persons in the child's life and the various institutions that impinge upon the child.

These and other unanswered questions are reviewed in the following pages. Where relevant, the problems are presented in the context of both historical and contemporary research findings. The reader will note that much of the available information is quite dated; further, much of the research has been conducted on adults rather than children. However, since it is the adult who is the major socializing influence, and since it is the adult's intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors which the child often internalizes or imitates, the studies on adults are liberally cited in this paper, together with relevant studies conducted directly with children.

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[2] In this category of conative components of attitudes, Kramer (1949) includes acceptance of individual members of an ethnic (or social class) group in various personal and social relationships (social distance), succorance versus non-succorance, withdrawal versus non-withdrawal, aggression versus non-aggression, and enforcement of status differentials versus acceptance of status equality.

The discussion begins with the issue of the development of intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors, moves to the question of the determinants of these attitudes and behaviors and concludes with the problem of how intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors might be changed to achieve more harmonious relations between different ethnic and social class groups.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERGROUP AND INTRAGROUP ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

The tendency of human beings to differentiate themselves from others and to differentiate the group to which they belong from other groups appears to be universal. Although some psychoanalytically oriented investigators, such as McDonald (1970), seem to assume that the basis for this phenomenon is partly instinctual (arising from the infant's fear of strangers) most social scientists believe that attitudes and behaviors toward others and one's self are learned and that their acquisition is gradual, multicausally determined and functional or need satisfying for the individual (Proshansky, 1966).

Much of the work in this area has investigated the development of ethnic or intergroup attitudes,[3] and most has been focused on the attitudes of whites toward blacks. Goodman (1952) suggests that research indicates at least three overlapping stages of such attitudes: a stage of ethnic awareness; a stage of ethnic orientation or "incipient" ethnic attitudes; and finally, the emergence of "true" or adult-like ethnic attitudes. A review of the scant research on the development of attitudes toward social class suggests that these attitudes follow a developmental pattern similar to that for ethnic attitudes. However, as will be shown, there is probably a good deal of overlap between attitudes toward persons of lower social class and attitudes toward persons of minority groups.

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[3] Following Harding, et al. (1969) an ethnic attitude is defined as "an attitude which a person has toward some or all members of an ethnic group, provided that the attitude is influenced to some degree by knowledge (or presumed knowledge) of the other individuals' group membership. Ethnic attitudes are frequently referred to as 'intergroup attitudes,' though they include the attitudes of individuals toward the groups of which they themselves are members" (p. 3).

The relationship between ethnic and social class attitudes and the developmental processes of these attitudes remains a relatively unexplored area. Even more rare, as Harding, _et al_. (1969) note, are developmental studies of intergroup behavior. Further, almost no attempts have been made to measure both ethnic attitudes and behavior so that one can compare the relationship between them. From a review of the literature, both criticisms also appear to apply to studies of social class.

In the discussion that follows, an attempt is made to portray the formation of intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors within a developmental framework. The presentation begins with the preschool child, moves to the elementary school-age and preadolescent child, and concludes with the adolescent and young adult.

Stages in the Development of Intergroup And Intragroup Attitudes and Behaviors

The Preschool Child

The empirical findings on the age at which ethnic awareness occurs are unclear; however, they suggest that such awareness begins to take shape during the nursery school years (age three or four). Although young children may vary in their degree of ethnic awareness, this process appears to be a normal part of the larger process of establishing a sense of self. The child becomes aware that ethnic distinctions are made and that he and others are clustered into such groups (Goodman, 1952). Class awareness seems to involve a similar differentiation process. However, most studies on class awareness have found that class-related differences are probably perceived somewhat later than the preschool years.

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As early as 1947, Clark and Clark, using Horowitz's (1939) line drawings and their own doll play and other techniques, reported that preschool Negro children were aware of ethnic differences. These findings were later substantiated by Goodman (1952); Landreth and Johnson (1953); Morland (1958, 1966, 1969); Stevenson and Stewart (1958); Faust (cited in Grotberg, 1968); Durrett and Davy (1970); Porter (1970) and others. That the same is true of white children has been shown by Horowitz (1939); Goodman (1952); Powell (1958); Morland (1958, 1966, 1969); Stevenson and Stewart (1958); Durrett and Davy (1970) and others.[4] Such early ethnic awareness also appears to be typical of Mexican-American lower class children (Durrett and Davy, 1970). These studies have been conducted in several sections of the United States and with children of different social classes.

Various studies have reported that membership in an ethnic minority group is a predisposing factor in the early development of ethnic awareness and prejudice (see Harding, et al., 1969). Consistent with these findings are the results of Goodman's study (1952) showing that, in the North, Negro children are generally aware of ethnic differences at a slightly earlier age than are white children. This finding was confirmed by Porter (1970) and other investigators; however, two studies conducted in Southern communities suggest that white children become aware of ethnic differences at an earlier age than black children (Morland, 1958; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958). Whether the differences found in these studies lie in the differences in methodological rigor and measurement, or whether children in the South are more sensitive to ethnic differences and/or whether Negro Southern children are less willing to verbalize their feelings has yet to be clarified.

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[4] Most, but not all, of these studies involved the use of visual aids (e.g., dolls) in interviewing the children.

Although investigators have been somewhat interested in differences of awareness related to ethnic membership and in the explicit normative character of Negro-white relationships in the North and South, few have studied the role of social class in the development of ethnic awareness in preschool children. One exception to this oversight is the study by Porter (1970) of 359 black and white children in both integrated and segregated preschools in Boston in 1965. She found that the social class of the child does appear to affect his awareness of ethnicity. Children in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program showed more knowledge of color terms than either their middle class or working class counterparts when sex, ethnicity and age were controlled. A trend on color matching also revealed a tendency for correctness of matching to be inversely related to class. These results were obtained even when Porter controlled for contact between groups.

With some qualifications, Porter (1970) found what other investigators have noted--that is, that both white and black children show a tendency to prefer white over black. This distinction between ethnic awareness and ethnic preference was first made by Clark and Clark (1947) and has been demonstrated in most of the studies concerned with ethnic awareness. The one exception to this general finding is a study by Crooks (1970). He found that Negro children who had been enrolled for one year in an interethnic preschool program showed a greater own-color preference in the doll play situation than did children without such an experience. Further, the white children who experienced an interethnic preschool program showed significantly greater Negro color preference than did white children without this experience.

Social class also seems to play a role in ethnic preference. Some indication of this role was noted in the early study by Horowitz (1939). However, it was not until 1953 that the influence of social class on ethnic preference was clearly shown to exist in preschool children. Landreth and Johnson (1953) found that upper class white children, when asked to match picture insets, apparently perceived the task as a matching problem so that skin color *per se* was not an important factor. On the other hand, the white lower class group resembled the Negro children (all of whom were lower class) in perceiving the task in affective terms and both showed preference for white skin. In Porter's (1970) later study, AFDC and working class white children chose the white dolls more frequently than their middle class counterparts. The trend was reversed among black children. Working class black children chose white dolls on attitude questions less often than their middle class peers. However, the AFDC black group exhibited less preference for the brown doll than did the working class children. Despite the differences among white children, the middle class whites were by no means highly favorable toward the Negroes, since their choices were still well on the white side of the scale. They merely selected the brown dolls slightly more often than their lower class counterparts. Spontaneous comments by the children provided additional evidence that the middle class child's anti-Negro feeling was not as high as that of his lower class counterpart, even though his preference for white was higher than that of other white children.

Porter's data differ slightly from those of Clark and Clark (1947) and others who, on the basis of their findings, point to the rejection by the Negro child of his own group. Some of these differences may be attributable to the development of more positive self-concepts among Negroes as a result of their own recent policies and the reinforcing policies of the broader society; however, some of the differences appear to be related to social class. Among Porter's sample, measures indicated that rejection of black was higher among the middle class than among the lower class Negro children. The children's spontaneous verbalizations indicated that, for some of the working class black children, the choice of a Negro doll reflected not only preference for the brown doll but also hostility toward the white doll.

If the studies have shown that preschool Negro children exhibit some hostility toward whites, it seems even more clear that many manifest hostility toward their own group. However, this hostility is not as strong as that manifested by white children toward Negroes.[5] The Negro child's hostility toward his own group has been demonstrated not only in the measures of preference but also in the observations of Negro children's behavior in the test situation and their obvious hesitancy and sometimes rebellious tendency not to identify themselves with black (or brown) dolls. The awareness of ethnic differences may bear no correlation to the Negro child's willingness to overtly admit to his ethnic membership.

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[5] Working with responses to identification of "black-bad" and "white-good," Stabler, et al. (1967) found that Negro and white children in Head Start and public school classes appeared to have incorporated the ethnic attitudes of the larger society; however, the evaluation of "black-bad" was more sharply reflected in the responses of the white children than in those of the black children.

Such a finding suggests that the social meaning of ethnic differences plays a large part in determining how a young child will apply these differences to himself. However, such an interpretation remains tentative because the status of self-identification as a measure of personal rejection on ethnic grounds is still unclear. (For various interpretations of these findings, see Porter, 1970.)

Perhaps this lack of clarity on the self-identification factor reflects the complexity of the problem, as is indicated in several recent studies. One difficulty arises when one compares the scores on self-identification with those for choice of "own-race" doll as playmate. If both identification with the doll of one's own group and the choice of a doll like oneself as playmate are to be interpreted as rejection or acceptance of one's own or other groups, both measures should yield somewhat similar acceptance or rejection scores. This has not been found to be the case. Black children appear to identify themselves as black more often than they choose an "own-race" doll as a playmate. Comparing black children from mixed pre-kindergarten samples tested in the late 1950's by Stevenson and Stewart (1958) with their own sample tested in the late 1960's, Durrett and Davy (1970) found no significant difference between the two studies in the proportion of children who chose "own-race" dolls for playmates. However, the proportion of children who correctly identified with dolls like themselves in the late 1960's was significantly higher than the proportion who demonstrated correct self-identification in the late 1950's. Although the latter finding may represent a positive change, the significance of the finding is unclear since the corresponding findings on choice of a playmate suggest that many black children were still rejecting their own group in the late 1960's.[6] Clearly, a more precise understanding of the meaning and differences in these two measures is needed.

Another complicating factor in self-identification is the skin color of the Negro child. Clark and Clark (1947) found that light-skinned Negro children chose Negro dolls less frequently than did dark-skinned Negro children. They suggested that consciousness of self as different from others might precede any consciousness of self in terms of a socially defined group: thus, in the black youngsters' perception, light Negro skin probably most resembles white skin whereas dark Negro skin is clearly different from both white and light Negro skin.

By introducing a "mulatto" doll, in addition to a white and dark brown one, Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) sharply reduced the percentage of Negro children who misidentified their own group (13 percent misidentification as compared to 39 percent in the Clarks' study).[7] These investigators concluded that Negro children do not misidentify their own ethnic group more than white children. However, one possible explanatory factor was not explored by the researchers: the Clarks' Northern sample was comprised of an all-Negro group and a very small integrated group (the latter, in fact, was too small to yield any dependable conclusions). In the Greenwald and Oppenheim study, the larger integrated sample probably had much more interethnic contact and this might have contributed to the difference in findings. A noteworthy feature of the latter's research is their finding that white children misidentified their group to a much greater extent than Negroes (44 percent as opposed to 13 percent).[8]

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[6] It is also encouraging to note that Durrett and Davy found less evidence of derogatory remarks and hostile attitudes expressed by either the Anglo or Negro children than had been noted in the past.

[7] Despite the greater correctness of identification, the Negro children still preferred to play with a white rather than a mulatto or dark brown doll.

Why misidentification occurs among any preschool children is still a question that has not been satisfactorily answered. Many have claimed that it represents a rejection by the Negro child--particularly the light-skinned Negro child--of his own group; however, since a vast majority of white children do not appear on any of the measures to reject their own group, it is not quite clear why any white children who appear to accept their own group misidentify themselves in the doll play situation or why more white than Negro children misidentified themselves in the Greenwald and Oppenheim study.

The complexity of the self-identification measure is demonstrated also in the studies by Porter (1970) and Raymer. Raymer found that black children enrolled in Head Start showed less identification with and preference for their own ethnic group than did white children, as measured by a paired picture selection test. However, several sex differences were noted. White girls identified more with their own group than did any of the other experimental groups and girls, in general, showed a stronger preference for sex than for ethnicity. Black children tended to select on the basis of sex more strongly than white children, although the former's choice for own-sex picture was for the picture of the opposite ethnic group. A significant "race examiner" interaction was also noted: white boys identified by sex more strongly with black examiners and black boys more strongly by sex with white examiners (cited in Grotberg, in preparation).

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[8] Other studies have found that white children identify more correctly with white dolls.

The recent study by Porter (1970) also found sex differences, as well as class and contact differences, in self-identification. Like earlier investigators, Porter found that ethnic awareness did not necessarily imply correct self-identification for Negroes. However, all the black children in Porter's sample who had a high "own-race" preference and "high color term knowledge" (i.e., tended to identify colors accurately) classified themselves correctly. Those with "high color term knowledge" but low "own-race" attitudes tended to misclassify themselves (this also occurred for a few white children with "high color term knowledge" and low "own-race" attitudes). Children of both ethnic groups who showed low "color term knowledge" but high "own-race" doll choice identified themselves even more accurately than their peers with more sophisticated color term knowledge but less consistent preference for their own color. Thus, a strong element of attraction to favored status as well as purely cognitive factors seemed to be involved in the correct self-identification of these preschool children. However, incorrect self-classification did not appear to be as adequate a measure of negative intragroup attitudes for whites as it was for blacks.

To summarize Porter's findings in this area: the analysis of self-identification, controlling for attitudes, color term knowledge and ethnicity, demonstrated that, for children of both ethnic groups, correct self-identification measured a positive attraction to ethnic membership as well as did the knowledge of ethnic or personal appearance alone. Incorrect self-classification also measured group identity for many black children. For whites, the meaning of variation in self-identification was much less clear.

As in other aspects of Porter's study, class factors were also found to be important in self-identification. They were shown to be related to part of the variation in black self-identification. Combining the data for Negro children, it appeared that the middle class black children showed a high rate of rejection of both other blacks and either rejection or ambivalence toward their own ethnic membership. The working class black children manifested a higher rate of own-group preference and a more correct self-classification than any other group. A more puzzling finding revolved around the Negro AFDC children. These youngsters showed almost as much white preference as their black middle class counterparts; however, their self-identification scores were more similar to those of their working class peers.

Porter suggests that differences in ethnic awareness may play some part in explaining the various results related to social class; however, she notes that her analysis of the children's spontaneous comments strongly suggests that, within the middle and working class, there may be subculturally patterned means of adjustment to minority ethnic status. She explains her results on the middle class black child in terms of the "marginal man" concept, noting that even though he possesses many symbols of success, he is still subjected to humiliations in his contacts. The working class black child is not faced with the problem of marginality and is compensated for his ethnic status in various ways within his own community. The AFDC child, on the other hand, is not as insulated from the white world as the middle and working class black child and is forced to play a much more subservient role. He is not allowed to escape the fact that he is black, even in fantasy; he may be forced to accept a negative or devalued identity in order to define himself at all.

Porter also noted that the child's image of himself may vary according to his sex and contact with others. Looking only at the data for white children, white males in a desegregated environment seemed to prefer Negroes more often than white males in segregated schools, whereas this relationship was reversed for white girls. The difference seemed to be that white boys' ethnic attitudes were mitigated somewhat by positive feelings toward active Negro boys who best embodied masculinity. White girls, on the other hand, seemed to respond in terms of personal appearance and preferred the doll which most closely approximated the dominant feminine standard of beauty.[9] It also appeared that the group image of whites was affected by the numerical ethnic composition of the classroom, although the effect on ethnic self-concept was not always positive. Desegregated white working class and AFDC boys had an unusually high rate of misidentification and were more likely to misclassify themselves than were their segregated peers or the desegregated male middle class sample. (It should be noted that the middle class desegregated boys were in schools where whites outnumbered blacks whereas most of the working class and AFDC boys were in schools where Negroes constituted 50 percent or more of the student body.) The findings indicated that attendance at schools where Negroes were in the majority could affect the self-esteem of white boys in either a negative or ambivalent fashion. White girls, on the other hand, tended to prefer whites, despite class membership or type of school, although girls in desegregated situations were more aware of ethnicity.

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[9] Porter notes that the personal appearance factor seemed even more important to the Negro girl and that color seemed to be a more relevant characteristic for her than for her white counterpart.

The self-identification of black preschool children also appeared to be affected by contact. Controlling for skin color, there was an interaction effect between contact and social class. Negro middle and working class children in a desegregated environment identified more correctly than those in segregated classrooms. The relationship was reversed for the AFDC black group. The light and dark skinned children within each class group did not differ in self-identification, although the attitudes of these two skin color groups was found to be affected differentially by contact. (Controlling for class, the light skinned children showed less and the dark skinned children more brown choice in desegregated than in segregated schools.) The findings suggested that the desegregated setting had no negative effect on the "ethnic self-concepts"[10] of working and middle class black children; however, one might interpret the findings for AFDC children differently. This is an extremely important area for research, as Porter notes. If these results on desegregation effects are indicative of a more favorable group identity among all black children except the AFDC children, they could have major implications for integration at the preschool level.

Despite all the sex and class differences noted by Porter, she sums up her findings by stating: "It is clear that many black children have low esteem for themselves on a racial basis; white children are positively attracted to the favored status" (p. 138).

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[10] As will be noted in the next section,"self-identification," "self-concept," "self-image" and several similar terms are often used interchangeably in the literature.

One plausible explanation for the American Negro child's conflict over self-identity has been set forth by Morland (1969) who contends that preference and identification are based on dominance, that is, children learn to identify with and prefer the dominant ethnic group in any nation. Morland bases this contention on a comparative study of ethnic awareness among 450 Hong Kong Chinese and Negro and white American children, ranging in age from four to six years. Although both Hong Kong and the United States are multiethnic societies, the Chinese in Hong Kong are of parallel rather than subordinate status to the British. In the U.S., of course, the Negroes and whites are in a subordinate-superordinate power relationship. Morland set out to discover whether ethnic awareness of children corresponds to these differences and found, that to some extent, they did. He notes, however, that the great majority of respondents accepted both their own and the other ethnic group. However, Negro children showed a good deal of conflict over their own ethnic-identity whereas Chinese children were more self-accepting and less stressful about their own identity.[11] Morland believes that once American society changes so that Negroes cease being subordinate, there will be positive effects on the ethnic preference and ethnic self-identification of Negro children.

In the area of behavior among preschool children, some studies have revealed no correlation between the evidence children give in private of ethnic awareness and ethnic preference and their actual behavior. In fact, some investigators have found nursery school children to be quite free of prejudice in their behavior (see e.g., Goodman, 1952; Stevenson and Stevenson, 1960; Morland, 1966; Diamant, 1969). Several investigators have reported that very young children appear to use ethnic and religious epithets to express excitement; however, often such expressions are coupled with friendly interaction between the child uttering the epithet and the target of his expression. They note that this may not be inconsistent behavior if the child does not perceive the words as being capable of hurting another or if the child regards them as play because of their taboo nature (see Harding, et al., 1969). Lasker (1968) notes that the main element in ethnic interaction in young children is that of fear (should the group become distinct in the child's mind); however, actual contempt seems to be absent in the emotional association of ethnic differences in very young children.

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[11] What Morland did not appear to take into account was the long-standing cultural tradition of the Chinese; the American Negro, on the other hand, has lost much of his ancient culture and has experienced a good deal of cultural and role conflict since being brought to America. This difference may account, in part, for the fact that the Chinese children showed less ethnic-identity conflict than did the American Negro children in Morland's study.

Although many of the studies on ethnic attitudes have pointed to the beginnings of a negative ethnic orientation by the third or fourth year, some studies of intergroup behavior reveal that racial, religious or social class cleavage begin to occur only at a much later age. Criswell (1937, 1939) and Moreno (1934), for example, found that ethnic cleavage did not occur to any great extent before the fourth garde, as measured by the sociometric technique. Support for this early finding was soon forthcoming in a number of studies. (For a brief discussion of these studies, see Harding, et al., 1969.) These findings were challenged by Lambert and Taguchi (1956) who contended that such cleavage exists in preschool children but is simply not revealed in the kinds of choices required by the standard sociometric techniques. In their own study with Oriental and Occidental preschool children, subjects were asked to make choices believed to be highly meaningful to them (e.g., choosing a child from whom to receive candy). They found that the measure elicited ethnocentric choices among Oriental children but a similar trend among Occidental children was not statistically significant. Other evidence for ethnic cleavage among preschool children was obtained from the observations provided by time-sampling measurements of Oriental and Caucasian children obtained by McCandless and Hoyt (1961). Despite the fact that the mixing of the races was commonplace in the larger setting (Hawaii), these children played more with children of their own ethnic group.

At least one study has investigated both ethnic and social class cleavage among preschool children. Under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), Stodolsky and Jensen (1969) studied the relationship of ethnicity and social class to intra- and inter-group behaviors and attitudes among disadvantaged Negro and middle class white, Oriental and Negro preschool and early elementary school-aged children. All children were enrolled in the "Ancona Montessori Research Project for Culturally Disadvantaged Children" during the 1968-69 school year. Some were new to the program; others had been enrolled for one to four years. Stodolsky and Jensen hypothesized that there would be an increase over time in 1) cross-group social acts, 2) cross-group cooperative play, 3) cross-group friendship choices and 4) interaction between middle class and disadvantaged children, as facilitated by common interests and shared activities. To test these hypotheses, Stodolsky and Jensen used both pre- and post-measures on a sociometric test and a series of time-sampling observations on each child in the sample.

On the first sociometric test, administered during the early part of the school year, the children's choices of lower class Negro and middle class Negro, white and Oriental children did not differ from the proportions of these groups in the classrooms.[12] On the second test, administered at the end of the year, certain group patterns of choice emerged which differed from the actual classroom distributions. Observations of social acts also showed deviations over time (*ibid*.).

The hypothesis that common interests and activities would facilitate friendship choices across social class lines over time was confirmed only for middle class children. Moreover, the middle class comparison group showed more cross-class friendship choices on the sociometric test and more cross-class cooperative play in the classroom with longer enrollment in the program. In general, the middle class group did not deviate as much in play or in friendship choices from the actual proportions of social class and ethnic groups in the classroom as did lower class children. To the extent that middle class children did deviate from actual proportions in the classroom, the first-year middle class children (who were predominately Negro) tended to direct more social acts to middle class Negro children. The middle class second- to fourth-year children differed from their younger counterparts in that they directed fewer acts to middle class Negro children and more to lower class Negro children. In the distribution of their social acts, the older middle class group came the closest of any group to approximating the actual proportions of different ethnic and social class groups in the classroom (*ibid*.).

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[12] The proportions of the 35 disadvantaged and 35 middle class children for each classroom were approximately as follows: 21 percent lower class Negro; 35 percent middle class Negro; and 44 percent middle class white or Oriental children. Although Stodolsky and Jensen did not study the direct effects of the proportion of each type of group in each classroom upon the children's social acts and behaviors, it is possible that the proportion for each ethnic and social class group affected their results.

Stodolsky and Jensen found that both the younger and older lower class groups showed a strong directionality in the distribution of their social acts. Both groups directed relatively few acts to middle class white children in proportion to the number of these white children in the classroom. New lower class children directed a large proportion of their social acts to middle class Negro children, while lower class second- to fourth-year children directed a large proportion of their acts to other lower class Negro children.

In general, the children showed a strong consistency between friendship choices on the sociometric test and social interaction as measured by the time-sampling observations. The older middle class group made more friendship choices and directed more social acts to the lower class Negro children than did the first-year middle class group. The older lower class children directed a disproportionate number of social acts within their own social class group and increasingly made more within-group friendship choices. Only for the lower class children was there a lack of consistency between the two measures. This group showed a strong tendency to direct social acts to middle class Negro children which was not reflected in their positive sociometric choices. Two lines of evidence suggested that the interaction of the lower class Negro children with middle class children may not have been strongly positive in character: first, a greater share of the social acts were of a dominance-submission rather than a cooperative nature; and, second, there was a greater tendency on later tests for this group to make negative rather than positive choices of middle class Negro children (ibid.).

Stodolsky and Jensen found that the choice of disliked children and the choice based on ethnic attitudes toward unknown children contrasted sharply with the results they obtained for friendship and play choices. The middle class children showed a strongly negative attitude toward Negro children in their classroom. With longer tenure in the program, the middle class group manifested even stronger negative attitudes toward lower class Negro children, although these attitudes were not generalized to unknown Negro children. The lower class Negro children did not choose disliked children in their classroom from any particular social class or ethnic group; however, with longer tenure in the program, this group showed an increasingly negative attitude toward unknown Negro children.

In general, it appeared that, as the middle class children in the program got to know the lower class children, they reacted both more positively and more negatively. Their positive reactions were shown by their tendency to interact with lower class children. Their negative reactions appeared to be based on the individual characteristics of other children and were not seemingly generalized to a whole ethnic group. The lower class children, on the other hand, tended to more away from greater contact with the middle class children, particularly the white children, and to choose friends from among their own group, although they did not express negative attitudes toward middle class children as individuals. However, the lower class children did tend increasingly toward an attitude of negative evaluation of their own group (ibid.).

Stodolsky and Jensen state that they do not know the correlates of these attitude shifts in lower and middle class children. Where children were able to give some elaborate reasons for their negative sociometric choices, the reasons were generally associated with a child's aggressive behavior, his failure to cooperate in classroom routines and/or his emotional dependence upon adults. For example, children who were disliked were said to "hit" other children, or to be "bad," or to be a "baby." However, the degree to which these behaviors were characteristic of any disliked child was not determined.

Stodolsky and Jensen insert a final note of caution in interpreting their results on social interaction:

> While there are both racial and social-class correlates of liking and disliking other children in the program, we do not typically see nor do our results suggest that children of either racial or social-class groups isolate themselves into cohesive, exclusive groups even though occasional instances of this sort of behavior do occur. A large proportion of the social interaction in the Ancona classrooms, and of the friendship choices of the children in the program, occurs across racial and social-class lines (p. 44).

Comparing all of the evidence on ethnic cleavage in the preschool years, one is faced with conflicting evidence. Since there are differences in measurement techniques, social settings and ethnic groups between the early and later investigations, no firm conclusion on this issue can be made at this time.

The Elementary School-Age and Preadolescent Child

The literature, in general, indicates that an ethnic orientation increases with age. This stage in the development of ethnic attitudes may begin as young as the age of four and extend to the age of seven or eight (Goodman, 1952). In comparison with adult attitudes, ethnic attitudes of children in this age group are still rudimentary in relation to both ethnicity and social class. During this age period, and especially in the elementary grades, the child is confronted with the task of matching his level of understanding with his verbal facility. As time goes on, he learns more fully the meaning of ethnic and social class terms, how to use them correctly and consistently, and gradually comes to master, to some degree, the ethnic and social class labels he has at his command. He learns to generalize concepts such as "Negro," "Jew," "Italian" (Harding, *et al.*, 1969) and to show definite preferences for middle or lower class persons (Tudor, 1971). With increasing age, the child begins more and more to prefer his own group and to limit his social interaction more to children of his own group. Attitudes become more fixed and yet, paradoxically, seemingly more differentiated.

However, it should be noted that the somewhat universal assumption that the three types of attitudinal components (affective, cognitive and conative) become increasingly differentiated with age is based on somewhat restricted research limited to a few studies of cognitive and conative components. It receives strong support from a study by Blake and Dennis (1943). They found that white children at all levels they studied (grades 4 through 11) were strongly anti-Negro but that those in the higher grades, unlike those in the lower grades, expressed some favorable as well as unfavorable attitudes towards blacks. Radke and Sutherland (1949) also found an increasing differentiation of stereotypes[13] of the Negro (and the Jews) among white children in grades 5 to 12, but the direction of the attitude change was reversed in their study: rather than changing from primarily negative to (some) positive traits, as in the Blake and

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[13] Following Lippman (1922), most investigators define sterotypes as a simple belief that is inadequately grounded, at least partially inadequate, but one held with considerable assurance by many people.

Dennis study, their subjects changed from primarily positive to a mixture of positive and negative stereotypes. The differences may lie in the fact that the Blake and Dennis study involved Southern children whereas the Radke and Southerland study was conducted in a Midwestern community. Other studies also have found a greater consistency and integration of three types of attitudinal components with increasing age. (For a review of these studies, see Harding, *et al.*, 1969.)

Other studies have indicated that sex is also an important factor in the development of attitudes during the elementary years. Singer (1967), for example, found marked sex differences in ethnic attitudes among fifth and sixth grade black and white children. The two groups most willing to associate with blacks were segregated superior IQ white girls and desegregated average IQ white girls. High IQ segregated and desegregated Negro girls saw whites as aggressive, as nonachievers, and were least willing to associate with whites. Desegregated Negro boys were more willing to associate with whites than were segregated Negro boys. Several other studies reviewed by Carithers (1970) indicate that the Negro girl has a much more difficult time in interethnic associations than does the Negro boy.

The role of social class in the development of ethnic attitudes of elementary school-aged and preadolescent children has not been well studied, but it appears to be a critical factor. Epstein and Komorita (1965) examined the intrinsic influence of class versus color on the social distance[14] that upper middle class white children (grades 3-8) exhibited toward other children. They showed slides of Oriental children (given the name "Piraneans") against a slum and a suburban background and slides of white children photographed against the same two backgrounds. An analysis of variance of the social distance scores obtained from the children demonstrated that ethnicity had no signigicant main or interactional effect on the scores but that class had a significant effect. For those children attending a school where "tolerant attitudes" toward minority groups were encouraged, social distance was greatest toward the lower class, despite ethnicity, and least toward the middle class, regardless of ethnicity. Thus they established, for this sample, that prejudice toward class but not color is learned early in life.

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[14] Social distance scales measure ethnic group attitudes by having respondents indicate the types of social relationships to which they would admit members of different ethnic groups (see Sellitz, *et al.*, 1959, pp. 371-72).

In the "Philadelphia Early Childhood Project" Trager and Yarrow (1952) found that young children, kindergarten through second grade, were conscious of both class and color. By manipulating the roles and attitudes of teachers--which they presented to the children as genuine reflections of the teachers' personalities and beliefs--these investigators showed, through measures of attitude change, that democratic as well as prejudiced attitudes can be taught to young children.[15]

A recent study by Laurence (1970) suggests that children may hold more egalitarian attitudes than they have in the past. As part of a questionnaire designed to tap the political knowledge and attitudes of nearly 1,000 white and black children (ages 8-15) in 48 integrated schools in Sacramento, Laurence included questions to elicit comparative evaluations on behavior, intelligence and honesty. The questions, in essence, asked for comparisons on whether Negroes or whites "behave better," "are smarter," and "more honest." In addition, the questions allowed for the response of "both are about the same" on all three characteristics. The latter response, that is "both are about the same," accounted for a range of 41 to 66 percent of the responses. In each case, a higher percentage of black as compared to white children tended to respond "both are about the same." Of those children not answering in this way, the responses tended to follow the pattern shown in earlier studies, that is, each group tended to rate itself much higher than they rated the other group. Interestingly, it was only in the area of intelligence that half or more of the white children tended to rate whites and blacks as "about the same." On the other characteristics, the "about the same" responses of the white children ranged from 41 to 47 percent.

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[15] While this experiment appears to have been a worthwhile effort to accomplish both physical and psychological integration by bringing ethnically mixed groups of teachers, parents and children together, it is questionable whether the final "experiment" demonstrating that attitudes can be taught was worth the expense of an honest and trusting relationship between teachers, parents and children.

There is also evidence that the stereotypes of different ethnic groups are changing and that children often express these changing beliefs.[16] The extent to which they do so, however, appears to be dependent upon situational factors and upon the particular group involved.

This appeared to be the case when Maykovich (1972) asked black, white and Japanese-American fourth and fifth grade students in Sacramento schools to describe whites, blacks and Japanese-Americans freely in their own words.

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[16] For example, Negroes in Maykovich's (1972) study were not always stereotyped as superstitious and lazy but were often described as musical, impulsive and aggressive. Changes in the white and Japanese stereotypes were also noted by Maykovich. However, a review of the literature (Cauthen, et al., 1971) did not reflect all of the changes noted by Maykovich. Cauthen and his associates found that the stereotypes of different ethnic groups showed a great degree of stability over the past 40 years. The only exceptions to this involved the Germans, Japanese, and Chinese, apparently as a consequence of the second World War. Whether or not Maykovich has caught stereotypes in the transition of change or whether her findings are limited to a given community appears to be an open question.

Maykovich found that the responses were highly dependent upon whether the children attended a white-dominant school or an ethnically mixed school. For example, children in white-dominant schools were significantly more likely than those in mixed schools to accept the current stereotypical image of the Japanese as quiet. However, the fact that the children in white-dominant schools reported that the Japanese were shy and did not speak in class indicated that their image of the Japanese may have been based on observation rather than an acceptance of a stereotype. Japanese-American children described as shy by whites in white-dominant schools did appear to be intimidated by dominant and popular white children. Negative traits (cowardice, sneaking, deceit, etc.) ascribed to the Japanese were mentioned significantly more frequently by children in white-dominant schools than by those in mixed schools. In mixed schools, Japanese children were characterized as friendly, kind or nice whereas in white-dominant schools they often were tolerated as "OK" by others. The Japanese were overwhelmingly described as intelligent, smart, industrious or as getting good grades by all children in the study. Other features (e.g., traditionalism, loyal to family, courteous, neat, artistic, etc.) seemed to match the national stereotypes.

Maykovich also found that black and Japanese-American children in white-dominant schools were far more likely than white children to describe whites in such negative terms as aggressive, mean, and cheating. In the mixed schools there was no significant difference in the descriptions of whites among the three ethnic groups. In fact, the black and Japanese-American children in the mixed schools were significantly less inclined to describe whites negatively and more inclined to use friendly terms than and consistently chose predominantly white rather than Negro classes. However, Negro children began first grade with a slight preference for an all-white class, but by the third grade clearly preferred Negro teachers and peers. White children's ethnic preferences were more pronounced than Negroes', and the third graders showed clearer ethnic awareness than first graders. In another study, Koslin and her colleagues found that black and white children tended to prefer peers of their own ethnic group (cited in Weinberg, 1970, p. 180).

Two other studies conducted in midwestern communities in the late 1960's found, as had Koslin and many earlier investigators, that white elementary school-age children predominately chose white over brown in the experimental play situations (Ogletree, 1969; Hraba and Grant, 1970). These two studies also found that the majority of black children preferred black to white (approximately 70-80 percent, depending upon the measurement used). To elicit these responses to skin color preference, Hraba and Grant used doll play techniques whereas Ogletree used a coloring test. Both techniques were similar to those used by Clark and Clark (1947).

Another recent study by Ward and Braun cites similar findings. Their sample involved second and third grade black children in Pennsylvania, half (30) of whom came from a middle class interethnic suburban school, and half of whom came from a "lower class" mixed inner city school. The investigators used both doll play and an 80-item yes-or-no questionnaire. The majority (approximately 70-80 percent) of the children responded to the different measures in ways that indicated high self-esteem and a preference for black over white. There was no evidence that the middle class black children had a greater white preference than the lower class children, nor were any differences in attitudes found based on the sex of those in white-dominant schools. In white-dominant schools, white children described themselves as popular and attractive and as leaders; however, minority children did not appear to absorb this image. In these schools, nonwhite children were more concerned than white children with such physical characteristics as skin color.

Although white children in white-dominant schools described blacks in negative terms (e.g., lazy, mean, not smart, etc.), Maykovich found no indication that black children tended to absorb the negative image of blacks. Whites in mixed schools and nonwhites, on the other hand, tended to be much less negative in their characterizations of blacks.

Black children in the white-dominant schools studied by Maykovich had seemingly factual descriptions of themselves: blacks are poor, have large families, speak a different language, or go to different schools. These descriptions, although factual, were hardly complimentary. Maykovich suggests that the black children in white-dominant schools were more concerned with their self-image, not only in terms of their physical appearance but also in relation to their social and economic conditions.

Maykovich found that blacks in both types of schools were significantly more likely than whites or Japanese-Americans to describe blacks as friendly, sensitive, jovial, happy, nice, or outgoing. Positive traits ascribed to blacks by all children included such traits as their being good in sports, music, or dancing.

In another study, Koslin and her colleagues (1969) attempted to discover whether children (grades 1-3) found it more desirable to go to school with white or Negro children. To answer this question and tap school-related ethnic attitudes, these investigators used sketches of classrooms differing in ethnic composition as a measure. White children clearly the child (cited in Fraser, 1972).

Although earlier studies using doll play and other projective techniques had shown that black children tended to prefer their own group more as they grew older, none reported that this preference was manifested by a great majority of their subjects. Radke and her associates (1950), for example, found that 57 percent of their black primary grade sample in both segregated and integrated schools in Philadelphia preferred a black rather than a white doll. Some 15 years later, Gregor and McPherson (1966) found that only about half of their Negro sample in desegregated schools in the Deep South preferred black over white dolls. However, some 92 percent of these Southern black children did identify with the Negro doll. Radke and her associates had uncovered a similar phenomenon in their studies. When they asked the children whether a Negro boy in a picture was glad to be a Negro, three-fourths of the Negro children responded in the affirmative. At the same time, Negro children indicated ambivalent feelings toward self-identification as a Negro. The findings of Gregor and McPherson (1966) led them to raise the question of whether segregation might not have a beneficial effect on ethnic self-identification. This question does not appear to have been investigated systematically.

At least one recent study on ethnic preference cites findings similar to those of earlier investigations. In this instance, Asher and Allen (1969) found that the majority of both white and black children rejected the brown puppet in the experimental situation. These 341 children were largely from a segregated sample in Newark, New Jersey.

In comparing the studies from the mid 1960's to the present, one is faced with difficulties in reconciling the conflicting findings. In part, the differences may be due to regional area or to methodological differences in the studies. However, some differences may be due to the amount of interethnic contact. The studies of Ogletree (1969), Hraba and Grant (1970) and Ward and Braun (Fraser, 1972) which show a greater preference on the part of black children for their own group, were conducted in integrated settings whereas the Asher and Allen study was conducted with a segregated sample. Further, although it shed little light on the question of preference, the study by Maykovich (1972) did indicate that an ethnic mix leads to more favorable intergroup attitudes on the part of many children, regardless of their ethnic membership. As for the studies by Koslin and her colleagues (1969; Weinberg, 1970), integration also appeared to create more positive interethnic attitudes between black and white children, even though many black children preferred peers of their own ethnic group. It may be that high self-esteem is related to a greater acceptance of persons different from one's self and that integration may facilitate both self-esteem and acceptance of others. Such a conclusion, however, has little support from empirical data. The data do seem to indicate that change is occurring with respect to many black children's attitudes toward themselves. However, the pace of this change may be directly related to other factors, such as social class and the duration and extent of interethnic contact, so that change is not occurring at the same rate in all communities and parts of the country.

It is also quite possible that too much emphasis has been placed on the "self-image" of Negro children, as measured by visual aides in interviewing and by projective techniques, and that too little has been made of the positive feelings they often express toward themselves on various other measures. (The latter findings will be discussed in the next section.)

In a study dealing only with the development of class awareness in elementary school-aged white children, Tudor (1971) found, as had other studies, that class awareness was indeed present in first grade children and that much of the development in cognition (as measured by matching photographs of people and material status symbols) occurred between the first and sixth grades. She also found that most of this developmental process was completed by the time the children reached the sixth grade. Social class and IQ did not seem to be related to cognitive class awareness, although sex was found to be related. Girls, in general, were able to make more precise groupings by class than were boys. However, both social class and intelligence were found to be related to behavioral awareness (as measured by the child's ability to match father figures with college education). Over all grades, middle class children were more aware of behavioral differences, followed by lower class and upper middle class children in that order. Children of higher intelligence also were more aware of behavioral preferences than children of lower IQ. However, IQ was strongest in its effect between grades one to four but had little effect by grade six whereas class differences were slight in the first grade, grew thereafter, and continued to have a strong effect into the sixth grade. The evaluative component (as measured by asking the child to exclude from his birthday party either a lower or middle class child shown in photographs) showed no significant results.

The studies of the development of intergroup attitudes among elementary school-age and preadolescent children are certainly inconclusive in many respects. The relationship between ethnic and social class attitudes needs far more study. Further, the questions of whether or not there have been changes in the development of attitudes of whites and ethnic minorities toward each other or in the development of attitudes of ethnic minorities toward their own group need far more investigation in light of the drastic social changes of recent years. In addition, far more studies are needed on the development of intergroup and intragroup behaviors since none devoted specifically to this problem were noted in the literature, except for those cited in sociometric studies.

The Adolescent and Young Adult

Turning to the high school and college years, further questions remain to be satisfactorily answered in relation to the development of ethnic and social class attitudes.

Early studies found that increasing prejudice is a function of age. (See Harding, et al., 1969, for a review of early studies of children between the ages of seven and thirteen.) A more recent study by Wilson (1963) tested the hypothesis that the average level of an ethnic attitude becomes stabilized only in late adolescence. Wilson studied male pupils in the Boston area between the ages of 13 and 17 with a behavioral and evaluative opinion questionnaire relevant to Negroes, Jews and Southerners. His findings only partially supported his hypothesis. On a social-distance measure of attitude toward the Negro, the level of prejudice appeared stabilized in later adolescence. However, generalized scales on which Negroes and Jews were evaluated directly revealed a much earlier age of attitude stability.

Some studies on the ethnic attitudes of youth who are members of American minority groups have also been reported; however, comparable data on the relationship of age to the degree of prejudice are not readily available. Of some interest are those studies that deal with the order of preference for different ethnic groups by majority and minority group youth.

The studies indicate that, by age 11, these preferences have become fairly well stabilized and that the rank ordering for different ethnic groups is essentially the same as that found among similar adult groups. (For a brief review of these studies, see Harding, et al., 1969.) According to past studies the one exception to this pattern of agreement in ethnic rankings among different groups has occurred when group members ranked their own group. In this case a difference in rating has arisen because each group ranked itself as the most desirable (ibid.). That this may be changing is suggested by the Laurence (1970) study cited earlier in which approximately 40-60 percent of white and black children felt both groups to be "about the same" on several characteristics.

Also relevant to the topic of the development of integration or evaluative consistency among different ethnic attitudes is the study by Frenkel-Brunswik and Havel (1953). These researchers interviewed 81 white American Gentile children between the ages of 10 and 15 about their attitudes towards Negroes, Jews, Mexicans, Chinese and Japanese. Correlations between attitudes toward the different groups were large and positive. However, the prejudice toward Negroes was greater than that toward other groups. This generalized nature of ethnic prejudice and the greater intensity of prejudice toward Negroes, as compared to other minority groups, was also evident in Galtung's (1960) study of high school youth in 21 communities.[17]

A few recent studies have attempted to discover how the emergence of "Black Power" and other indicators of growing black identity have affected the inter- and intra-group attitudes of black youth and young adults.

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[17] The phenomenon of generalized ethnic prejudice also has been shown to exist in younger children (Trager and Yarrow, 1952).

Dennis (1968) analyzed the changing ethnic composition of drawings of human figures by Negro students at Howard University in 1957 and 1967. In the earlier studies, he could discern no Negroes in the drawings. In a later study, about 18 percent of the figures were unmistakably Negro. Dennis speculated that the increase probably occurred during 1965-1967, a period of upsurge of black nationalist sentiment. An indication of a parallel development is contained in a study of Howard University students by Bayton and Muldrow (1968). These researchers tested the ability of light-skinned and dark-skinned Negro students to take each other's role. They concluded that the light-skinned Negro males occupied some "psychologically marginal status" which made them especially responsive to skin color cues emanting from other Negroes. Further, the light-skinned Negroes saw their dark-skinned peers as having more desirable personality characteristics than light-skinned Negroes possess. The data also suggested that the light-skinned Negro males were somewhat "uncomfortable" in their position vis-a-vis dark Negroes. These results too were attributed to the growth of black nationalist sentiment in recent years.

Elder (1971) analyzed questionnaire data obtained from 286 male Negro high school students in Richmond, California.[17] Indices were designed to measure identification with black solidarity, as represented by approval of at least two of three strategies proposed by some Negro groups on ways to reach their goals: 1) black unity (i.e., getting "all Negroes to take the same stand on racial issues"); 2) power (i.e., black leadership of Negro organizations, with whites serving only as members); and 3) self-defense

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[17] Elder's study was part of a larger investigation which included an ethnically mixed sample of 4,000 high school students, stratified according to ethnic group, sex, school, and grade level. The blacks in Elder's study were largely from the lower-socioeconomic strata and were either born in the South or had parents who were born in the South.

(i.e., "Negroes should strike back if attacked"). An integration index was also devised to measure preference for school and residential integration. According to a cross-tabulation of the black solidarity and integration indices, 16 percent of the boys were classified as uncommitted (i.e., indifferent toward the interest of black people and ethnic integration), 15 percent were classified as nationalists (i.e., affirmed only the collective interests of the black community), 40 percent were classified as integrationists (i.e., supported only ethnic integration), and 29 percent were classified as pluralists (i.e., supported both ethnic interests and integration).

It was assumed that, if the boys in the four groups held views consistent with their attitudes toward black solidarity and integration, one should be able to predict their relative position on several issues: strategies for achieving change in ethnic relations; ethnic-group preference; and interethnic experience. It was reasoned that the nationalists would be most likely to support two change strategies that are generally compatible with the ideology of black solidarity: the application of pressure to achieve residential desegregation in which the issue of open housing is a right of black people and not a personal interest in neighborhood integration; and the improvement of living conditions in the black community. It was felt that the pluralists would support both positions because of their identification both with black solidarity and integration; that the uncommitted would show relatively little interest in any change strategies; and, that the integrationists would favor interethnic contact and all strategies to achieve integration. It was also expected that the nationalists would rank above the other boys in the sample on preference for Negroes over other ethnic groups, interethnic distance and support for the Black Muslims (ibid.).

A questionnaire was then designed to measure preferences for desegregation and improvement of the black community, preference for the black race, support for interethnic contact and liking for white people. Although the results obtained from this questionnaire were generally in the direction predicted, no significant differences were noted among the four groups. The greatest difference between groups on the support for integration and improvement of the black community occurred between the uncommitted, on the one hand, and the nationalists and pluralists on the other. Although a majority of the nationalists did support the Black Muslims, as predicted, the majority did not differ from the pro-integrationist boys in strongly supporting CORE and the NAACP. Compared to the pluralists and nationalists, most of the integrationists showed less concern for their own ethnic group (as measured by support for change strategies and own group preference); this was even more true for the uncommitted group. Support for interethnic contact and acceptance of whites did not vary appreciably by identification with black solidarity, but was more likely to be endorsed by the pro-integrationist boys. Dislike for whites, in fact, was not prevalent in any of the groups, although this attitude was expressed more frequently by the nationalists (approximately 20 percent). In essence, the nationalists could be described as being quite conscious of their ethnicity and indifferent to their participation in an integrated society but not as explicit advocates of ethnic separatism (ibid.).

From interview data collected in 1967 from 1,160 black residents in Berkeley (age 16 and up), Dizard (1970) found that nearly one-half of this sample expressed a high level of attachment to positive black identification. Very little difference in positive intragroup identification was noted between professionals and unskilled laborers (53.8 percent versus 51.2 percent for the respective groups). Those committed to black identity were more supportive of militancy and this position did not appear to be related to age, education or occupation. Dizard notes that, while class differences related to black identification seem to be diminishing with growing black solidarity, different interpretations of black identity do appear to follow class lines (e.g., the Black Panthers are largely from the dispossessed and poverty-stricken strata of society). A review of recent empirical studies on black militants can be found in Caplan (1970) and some of his findings will be noted in the following section.

Wellman (1971) administered an open-ended questionnaire asking approximately 2,500 ninth grade students in both mixed and all black schools in Pittsburgh to respond in various ways to the question "Who am I?" The sample was approximately equal in the number of white and black adolescents. Whites tended to mention religious affiliation and ethnic heritage far more than blacks whereas blacks identified themselves by ethnic group, age and gender more frequently than whites. The proportion of black students giving an ethnic identification was roughly the same in all mixed schools, regardless of the proportion of black to white students. However, in the all black schools, the social indicator "black" appeared to be less important and students did not often identify themselves in ethnic terms. Nevertheless in all types of schools, blacks were more prone than whites to identify themselves in ethnic terms. The findings indicated that as being black became more incongruent with the social setting (i.e., the ethnic mixture of the school), identification in terms of ethnicity increased for blacks. Wellman concludes that when ethnicity is important for social action, it assumes a greater prominence for social identity.

Some research has been done on the development of intergroup behaviors of adolescents. For example, Burkett (1969) studied the effects of the ethnicity of the interviewer upon the non-task related behavior of both white and Negro eleventh grade students, as well as the role of the degree of prejudice upon this behavior. He found that highly prejudiced subjects of both ethnic groups talked less to an experimenter of the opposite ethnic group than did subjects of low prejudice. When the experimenter was of the same ethnic group, white highly prejudiced students talked more than the white students of low prejudice; the reverse was true for Negroes. Thus, degree of prejudice as well as ethnicity appears to be a factor in the interaction between experimenters and subjects of different ethnic groups.

Ethnic cleavage among older groups has also been studied. In an extensive study involving over 1,000 high school students, Lundberg and Dickson (1952) found that every ethnic group in their sample tended to show a preference for its own members in sociometric situations (selecting a leader, friend, work partner and dating companion). Among non-Jewish white students, ethnocentrism was found to increase with age. In another study conducted by Loomis (1943) in two high schools in the Southwest, Spanish-American and Anglo-American students, responding to a modified sociometric technique, reported much greater association with members of their own group. In both schools, the minority groups showed a greater tendency toward ingroup selection and exclusion of the outgroup than did the majority group students.

The pattern of higher ethnocentrism among minority youth tends to be reversed with respect to religious ethnocentrism, at least in the case of children from upper class homes. At least two studies have found that ethnocentrism is higher among Protestant and Catholic high school students than among their Jewish counterparts (see Harding, et al., 1969).[19]

A number of studies on social class indicate that Americans tend to interact mainly with persons of their own social class, although there may be some association between members of adjacent social classes. In his study of a high school student relationships in Elmtown, Hollingshead (1949) found that 61 percent of the daters belonged to the same social class; 35 percent belonged to adjacent classes; and four percent were two classes apart. Of the 1,258 clique ties in the Elmtown high school, three out of five linked students whose families belonged to the same social class, two out of five were between classes twice removed. Further, 83 percent of the marriages were between persons of the same class or immediately adjacent classes. Other studies cite similar findings (see e.g., Svalastoga, 1965; Brown, 1968).

Both ethnicity and social class have been found to be related to intergroup behaviors among adults. As in the case of children, the expressed attitude and behavior of adults do not always correspond (see e.g., La Piere, 1934; Hope, 1952; Killian, 1952; Kutner, 1952; Lohman and Reitzes, 1954). The reasons for this appear to be highly complex. For example, Triandis (1967) has demonstrated that the expression of behavioral intentions varies across the class, sex, ethnicity, occupation and belief similarity of the attitude object. These factors will be reviewed in the following sections as they relate to various determinants of intergroup and intragroup behaviors and attitudes.

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[19] It should be noted that the findings on the relationship between prejudice and religious affiliation are conflicting (see Harding, et al., 1969). Recent studies by Brannon (1970) suggest that the relationship between religious affiliation and ethnic prejudice must take into consideration at least two types of church members: the "instrumental" and the "devotional." The former involvement serves some self-centered purpose other than the attainment of the religious experience (e.g., status, fellowship, relief from guilt, etc.). In a purely "devotional" orientation, on the other hand, the religious experience is sought and valued as an end in itself. In Brannon's investigations in the South, those who used religion for instrumental purposes were significantly more likely to have anti-Negro attitudes and to endorse segregation than were those who used religion for "devotional" purposes.

Ongoing Research

The studies reviewed on the development of intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors have been conducted largely on small samples, often with questionable measurement techniques and sometimes in a setting which may be divorced from real life. They often shed little light on the determinants of intragroup and intergroup attitudes and behaviors, on what actually occurs when groups are brought together under forced change, or on what might successfully produce attitudinal and behavioral change. These latter questions will be the foci of concern in the following sections.

Before turning to these issues, it should be noted that the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) is conducting an investigation of the developmental aspects of ethnic attitudes in children which may help to clarify many unresolved problems. The studies will attempt to: develop more accurate measures of ethnic attitudes; delineate and assess the various components of ethnic attitude structure in black and white male and female children over a broad developmental range; collect information regarding antecedent and concurrent experiential variables which may relate to high degrees of ethnic prejudice; and compare the efficacy of both traditional and innovative attitude change techniques at varying levels of maturation. In contrast to earlier studies that stressed global personality and sociological factors, these studies will emphasize perceptual and learning variables which are readily amenable to behavioral manipulation but which have received little empirical attention to date.

Another NICHD study underway involves the development of valid and reliable measures of elementary school children's attitudes toward school but especially those related to ethnicity. In the first phase of this research, two nonverbal and semi-disguised instruments have been developed for measuring school-related interpersonal attitudes among primary grade children (grades 1-3). The second phase will continue to develop measures for use both in large scale evaluation studies and in basic research on educational processes. Efforts also will be made to generalize the measurement procedures to other components of children's attitudes toward school.

DETERMINANTS OF INTERGROUP AND INTRAGROUP ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that the American child is socialized early in life to be aware of differences between himself and others and differences between and among his own group and other groups. With increasing age, his attitudes and behavior reflect a growing ethnic and social class orientation until, at some age near or during adolescence, he begins to express "true" or adult-like attitudes and behaviors in his relationships with others. At all points in the socialization process, he is also forming his concept of himself.

The effects of this socialization process are at least vaguely apparent. A separate but related question is: What are the determinants of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors? There is, of course, no final and conclusive answer. Research evidence points to a highly complex interplay of social, cultural and psychological factors contributing to these determinants, and it appears that no one theory or discipline can satisfactorily explain all the causes and manifestations of intergroup and intragroup behaviors and attitudes. Most investigations have been one-sided and have tended to minimize or exclude other theories and findings. Fitting the multiplicity of approaches and findings on the determinants of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors into a developmental framework would be a difficult, if not impossible task, since most of the studies cited above were focused on the actual attitudes and behaviors manifested by children in group relations rather than upon the determinants of the attitudes and behaviors. Studies on socio-emotional development and socialization practices have seldom been related directly to the determinants of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors, although the foci of those investigations are probably highly relevant to this question. Thus, in the review of the research that follows, it is apparent that what is most needed is research that can provide an understanding of the ways in which the various determinants are interrelated and how each contributes to the complex whole.

The Family

Most social scientists agree that the foundations of a child's attitudes toward himself and others are formed by the interrelationship between the child and those with whom he first has contact. For most American children, this means the nuclear family--father, mother and siblings. For many ethnic groups, the early circle of intimate contact may include the extended family and for some, such as the Pueblo Indians, the broader community as well. For still others, early intimate contact may include only the mother and perhaps siblings or some extended family member. A vast literature points to the independent influence which each family member may exert upon the child's attitudes toward himself and others.[19] The child rearing practices of each socializing agent, in turn, are influenced by his or her education, socioeconomic status, group membership, personality dynamics and many other factors which directly, or indirectly, also come to exert their influence upon the child's attitudes toward himself and others.

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[19] Much of the literature on parental influences upon the child's attitudes toward himself stems from clinical research and is not dealt with at length here.

A good deal of social research points to the diversity of child rearing practices in the United States. As Bronfenbrenner (1958) has demonstrated, these practices are not static but change over the years as a function of socioeconomic status, cultural values, public information and other factors. Studies conducted over the past two decades indicate several general child rearing practices that characterize different social classes and ethnic groups. These will be discussed briefly here, mainly in the context of how they may exert an influence on inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors. It should be kept in mind that these characterizations are quite general and cover only some of the "typical" attributes of American families.

Studies on the middle-middle and upper-middle class indicate that these families are quite child-centered and spend much of their leisure time together. Seemingly, the higher the socioeconomic status of the middle class family, the greater the emphasis parents are likely to place upon individual development, self-control, self-expression, happiness, self-direction and achievement (Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, to be published). For the black child, there is the additional parental pressure to be a living refutation of the stereotyped primitive and inferior Negro (Clark, 1963). Among the middle class of all ethnic groups, a great value is placed upon participation in the larger society. The middle-middle and upper-middle class child is taught, implicitly if not explicitly, that he has some power to control his own fate and to achieve a comfortable, satisfying life. Most of these middle class children live in a highly stimulating environment and are provided the types of stimulation that help them to achieve in school and in work. For the most part, however, these children are sheltered from intimate contact with other ethnic groups and social classes. Learning to get along with others quite different from themselves often begins in public school--if it begins at all. And when it begins, differences are soon apparent. Competitiveness, as will be shown, is a dominant characteristic of the middle class child. Achievement is often not too difficult. Seeing others who do not achieve or do not compete by their middle class standards quite likely leads these children to adopt disparaging attitudes towards those who differ from themselves (Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, to be published).

The working class child, and frequently the lower-middle class child, on the other hand, is often taught to feel uncomfortable with the various institutions of the larger society. Working class and lower-middle class parents stress the values of neatness, cleanliness, and obedience and respect for adults. These children are expected to conform to external proscriptions and are not taught or allowed the great degree of self-direction which is part of the socialization experience of middle-middle and upper-middle class children. The outside world is viewed by the working class, and sometimes the lower-middle class, with a certain amount of detachment and hostility--a hostility that often extends to minority groups and others who do not conform to the traditional American values which are seemingly highly internalized by many lower-middle and working class persons. Recent research has shown that this hostility of the working class now extends to the student rebels and other middle class counterculturists (Lane and Lerner, 1970). Although working class (and sometimes lower-middle class) children often live near ethnic minorities and often associate with them at an early age, ethnic cleavage generally occurs at some point in time.

The vast literature on poverty families shows a great deal of variation in child rearing practices. Some poverty families are highly stable and have adopted many middle class child rearing practices which aid their children in competing in the middle class world. However, many poverty factors militate against successful competition, such as the lower degree of the types of stimulation fitted to the middle class school, poor health care which lowers learning capacity, isolation from the larger environment etc., (Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, to be published).

It appears to be the highly disadvantaged and the disorganized poor who differ drastically from the middle and working classes. Evidence suggests that these children are subjected to many disadvantages which have a cumulative effect, leaving the disadvantaged child ill-prepared to compete in the larger society. Among these families, husbands and wives often lead "separate" lives in their daily existence. The struggle for survival leaves them little time to spend with their children. And even the time spent may be conducive to poor child development since the parents often are tired, have few adequate parenting skills and low educational levels (ibid.). Pavenstedt (1965) found that activities in the homes of very low income children were impulse determined and that consistency in socialization practices was totally absent. Parents often failed to discriminate between their children or failed to discriminate between the child's role and their own. Communication by words was almost non-existent. The children's self perception was low and language achievement was seldom attained. These children became "immature little drifters" who, without anyone to relate to, failed to come to grips with many areas of existence. Beiser (1965) notes that evidence on the disorganized poor suggests that they lack a broad repertoire of social skills. They tend to see others in "block form"; that is, they lack the discriminatory ability to assess the motivation of others accurately and the ability to recognize affect, both in themselves and in others. Their interaction with other groups is likely to be unsuccessful for these and other reasons. In addition, these children and their families succumb to the stigma placed upon them by the larger society--a stigma that may be compounded by membership in an ethnic minority. Their childhood experiences, both within and outside the home, tend to produce the opposite of those qualities which Erikson (1959) has delineated as being essential to a healthy self concept: mistrust rather than trust; doubt and a sense of powerlessness rather than autonomy; indecisiveness instead of initiative; a sense of failure rather than mastery; isolation rather than intimacy; and despair rather than ego integrity. Inconsistencies in parental disciplinary practices often lead to difficulties in interpersonal relationships, especially with an authority figure. When the act of a parent (or other adult) results in retribution in one instance and not in another, authority comes to be seen as "capricious and punitive." Thus, a spontaneous violent discharge of emotions frequently begins to characterize the life style of the disadvantaged child. This tendency is augmented by the sense of frustration and powerlessness which the disadvantaged child learns from his parents and which is later reinforced by the larger society (Beiser, 1965).

Among some ethnic groups, deviations from the middle class child rearing practices are often even more pronounced than those of white (and often black) working and lower class Americans; however, the extent to which various ethnic groups deviate from middle class practices is often a function of social class, age-generational differences, and the degree to which any sub-group within an ethnic population has been assimilated into the American culture Again, only broad generalizations can be presented within the scope of this report.

Many Japanese-American families, for example, rear their children to be dependent, quiet and submissive. These practices are much stronger among the first generation of Japanese-Americans (Issei) who were born in Japan and immigrated to the United States prior to 1924 than among the second (Nisei) and third (Sansei) generations of Japanese-Americans. The Issei stress the submergence of individual needs in the face of family and group expectations and the use of rigid social role definitions. Studies on the Nisei show that they appear to be far more American and "modern" and tend to view their children as comrades with whom they can share experiences. They also encourage their children to question. The Sansei hold some traditional Japanese values but have acculturated to a greater degree than the first and second generations. The Japanese, both in America and Japan, hold many values compatible with those of middle class Americans. The Japanese, for example, stress personal achievement and the attainment of long range goals which probably helps to account for their relatively successful adaptation in American society. However, their emphasis upon personal success and rapid socioeconomic status is embedded in a complex value pattern that also stresses deference, conformity and compromise. There are indications that many of the values and child rearing practices of Japanese-Americans are becoming more like those of the dominant society, particularly among the younger generations. (For a review of these studies, see Kitano, 1969.)

As with the Japanese-Americans, it is next to impossible to give any clear-cut definition of the typical Chinese family in America, partly because of the differences in acculturation, socioeconomic status and age-related factors. Too, most of the existing material is quite dated. Yet, from existing data, it seems certain that Chinese-American children are generally brought up with firmer discipline and with a far greater respect for their elders than are most American children. Although various social forces have militated against the maintenance of a common household comprised of several generations, Chinese allegiance and loyalty remain more with the family than the state. Like the middle class American, Chinese-American families teach their children the importance of hard work and the necessity to compete for advancement; however, unlike the middle class dominant society, the Chinese-Americans do not view lack of financial success as great failure. They believe life has to be accepted as it comes (Kung, 1962).

This acceptance of life as it comes is also typical of the Mexican-American. But, even though Mexican-American children are strictly supervised until they are twelve or thirteen years old, Mexican-American parents do not tend to be as firm in some discipline practices as either Oriental or white middle class American families. As a youngster, the Mexican-American child learns to value family solidarity. He is coddled and loved and his parents place a great deal of emphasis on his status as a child. To many Anglo-Americans, the Mexican-American child appears smothered with affection. To the Mexican-American parents, Anglo-American parents appear cold and aloof toward their own children. Whereas many Anglo-American parents push their children toward independence at an early age, the Mexican-Americans feel that time is something to be enjoyed. They do not worry if their child is too long in diapers, or refuses to let go of the breast or bottle at a certain age. This present orientation of the Mexican-Americans, their emphasis on warm, friendly, intimate and personal relations (rather than on competition in the Anglo-sense of the term), their reluctance to accept leadership positions because of envidia[20] and their cautious pessimism about the future are only some of the values which differentiate the Mexican-American children from Anglo-American children (Heller, 1964; Montez, 1967). Although Puerto Rican families are in some ways more "westernized" than Mexican-American families, these groups hold many of the same values and beliefs. Among Puerto Ricans in the United States, however, many families are highly disorganized because of poverty and thus share in common with the very poor many child rearing practices (Minuchin, et al., 1967). Nevertheless, there is evidence, from Puerto Rico at least, that the values of the dominant society are becoming increasingly incorporated into child rearing practices as Puerto Rican families emerge from poverty (Safa, 1970).

Of all the American ethnic groups, it is perhaps the American Indian who differs most from the dominant society in child rearing practices. Because of the great diversity among the Indians, any generalizations must be qualified with the caveat that one should view each tribe (and each faction within a tribe) separately before planning any intervention programs. However, in general, it can be said that most American Indians are far more permissive than other American families in their child rearing practices. During the early years, the Indian child seldom experiences corporal punishment, is allowed to explore freely without much adult interference (a practice that whites often view as lack of parental care) and yet is subtly socialized to conform, often by the community as well as the parents. Poverty and cultural disintegration have drastically modified family effectiveness for many Indians but, in general, the great value placed on Indian identity is learned at an early age, and often produces "cultural conflict" for the child when he enters the dominant society. To varying degress, almost all Indian tribes stress cooperativeness within the group and strong ingroup ties. The outside world is often viewed with suspicion and fear (see e.g., Berry, 1969).

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[20] Envidia, meaning jealousy, is extremely difficult to define in English. It seriously handicaps the ability of Mexican-American people to organize or develop effective leadership. Because of envidia, the Mexican-American who gains a higher social, educational or economic level than the majority of his friends or relatives often incurs their hostility rather than their admiration. He is likely to be accused of improving his position through exploiting or selling out his own people. Hence, many qualified persons are reluctant to accept leadership positions.

From the above brief descriptions it can be seen that American children come together in the various institutions of society with many different learning experiences which lead to many different inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors. There is little evidence that _any_ type of American family has socialized their child to accept, tolerate and especially to enjoy and value people who differ from themselves.

Cutting across many of the ethnic and social class differences are those child rearing practices that appear to directly foster prejudice toward ethnic minorities. Although highly correlated with low occupational, income and educational status, those practices leading to ethnocentrism and prejudice are by no means confined to the lower classes or to members of minority groups (see Harding, _et al_., 1969). According to evidence, prejudiced children are the product of disciplined, status-oriented and harsh family settings. This was first demonstrated in the study of _The Authoritarian Personality_ conducted some years ago by a team of researchers at the University of California at Berkeley (Adorno, _et al_., 1950).

Later studies, in general, have uncovered the same correlates. Studies cited in Harding, _et al_. (1969) have shown that mothers of prejudiced children, in contrast to mothers of tolerant children, believe that obedience is the most important thing a child can learn; that a child should never be allowed to set his will against that of his parents; that a quiet child is preferable to a noisy child; and that sex play by the child should be punished. Such practices were assumed by the authors of The Authoritarian Personality to produce children with low frustration tolerance, high repressed hostility, and other personality factors that later generate hostile ethnic attitudes (see below).

As Harding, et al. (1969) note, these correlational findings, even though generally consistent, have presented two major problems of interpretation. The first is the extent to which the correlations reflect simply the influence of different amounts of education on both the child rearing and personality variables correlated with authoritarianism. Studies which have controlled for educational level have generally found that most correlations remain significantly high. (See Harding, et al., 1969, for a listing of these references.)

The second problem concerns the extent to which the demonstrated correlations between ethnic attitudes of parents and children are determined in the manner assumed by the Berkeley researchers--that is, the pattern in which authoritarian child rearing practices produce children with certain personality traits that later generate hostile ethnic attitudes. The process may involve instead a direct identification with the parents, one in which the child simply takes over the ethnic attitudes of the parents. Harding, et al. (1969) suggest an investigation focused on the ethnic attitudes of two uncommon types of parents:

"those with a combination of high ethnic prejudice and permissive or democratic child-rearing practices, and those with low prejudice but authoritarian child-rearing practices" (p. 39).

Although many questions remain to be answered on the relationship between child rearing practices and intergroup attitudes and behaviors, many studies show that children and college students report an awareness that their own ethnic attitudes stem from those of their parents. Evidence indicates that many older children are likely to forget that their parents were the source of their attitudes and may rationalize their attitudes in various ways. Prejudiced students have been found to be less likely than unprejudiced students to report directly taking over their parents' ethnic attitudes. (For a review of these studies, see Harding, et al., 1969.)

Horowitz and Horowitz (1938) investigated specific ways in which parents in rural Tennessee influenced the development of their children's ethnic attitudes. They found that the white child was taught Negro prejudice by a method both harsh and direct. Children often reported that their play with Negro children resulted in a "whipping" from their parents. Disagreement between the parents about encouraging or discouraging their child from playing with Negroes appears to increase the child's level of prejudice (Bird, et al., 1952). In some cultural settings, the learning of ethnic prejudice may be just as direct as that noted by Horowitz but more "refined" in approach. The child may be told that some ethnic groups are "not nice" or "not to be seen with." The actual or threatened punishment may be psychological rather than physical (e.g., loss of love) (Harding, et al., 1969). Or, it is possible, from what we know of modeling and imitation, that children may model themselves after their parents' prejudiced behavior.

It is evident from the studies of Goodman (1952) and Radke-Yarrow and her associates (1952) that children may learn ethnic attitudes in an indirect fashion. Radke-Yarrow, et al., found that about one-half of the Negro families and three-quarters of the white families in their study believed that their own children should be taught to recognize differences between groups; however, only about four percent obviously attempted to instill prejudice. Nevertheless, about one-third of the Protestant and Catholic parents made use of hostile descriptions and stereotypes in explaining ethnic and religious differences to their children. It is equally possible, as Trager and Yarrow (1952) point out, for favorable ethnic attitudes to be learned in the home since parents' "teaching of intergroup attitudes is frequently unconscious and is rarely direct or planned" (p. 349).

It should be emphasized, however, that the effects of parental influence on children's ethnic attitudes are by no means unlimited. In a study by Bird and his associates (1952), the correlations between parent and child attitudes were low (+0.21); parents resembled each other more than they did their children in attitudes toward Negroes. Frenkel-Brunswick and Havel (1953) also report only low positive correlations between children's ethnic attitudes and those of their parents.

In an unpublished paper, Kenneth Clark warns against weighting too heavily the role of parents in the transmission of interethnic attitudes. He contends that the symbols of ethnic discrimination, such as residential segregation and segregated schools and churches (implying the inferiority of Negroes and other groups), act as more powerful educators than parents; furthermore, children often develop hostile ethnic attitudes in the face of parental as well as clerical admonitions of tolerance and brotherhood. The reverse pattern may also occur, in which children develop democratic attitudes in the face of ethnic hostility in the home. Not only is there a subtle interplay between general cultural as well as family influences impinging on the child, but also particular children for a variety of reasons may develop specific attitudes contrary to the prevailing sentiments surrounding them (cited in Harding, _et al_., 1969).

The School

Like parents, the school is a major socializing agent. Within the school two major influences help to determine the child's attitudes toward himself and others--his teachers and his peers.

The influence of the school experience upon the child's attitudes toward himself is, of course, highly related to his home experiences before and after he begins school (e.g., his parents' attitudes toward school and their ability to aid him in achievement), and to his early learning experiences that help to form his self-concept, his attitudes toward others (including authority figures and peers), his need for achievement and his ability to achieve. The vast literature on disadvantaged children attests to the circular relationship between home and school in determining many of the disadvantaged child's attitudes toward himself and others. Though this relationship between home and school has not been as well studied among the non-poor, it is highly likely that it is just as important a determinant of the quality of the non-poor child's school experience.

There seems to be little doubt that the quality of both the home and the school plays a large part in the child's school achievement. Although this paper is not focused on cognitive functioning and school achievement, neither one can be overlooked as a determining influence in the child's attitudes toward himself and others. The child's level of cognitive functioning and school achievement also influences the attitudes which the child's teachers and peers have toward him.

Since the subject of the school is also a topic of discussion in the next section, the focus here will be upon some of the general ways in which the school acts as a determinant of intra- and inter-group behaviors.

It was noted in the previous section that ethnic cleavage[21] in the elementary school probably does not begin until the fourth grade. Studies also indicate that ethnic groupings do not begin to form until about the fifth grade (Moreno, 1934; Criswell, 1937, 1939). The reasons for this cleavage are not yet clear but may reflect the interrelationships between the tendency toward greater differentiation in attitudes with increasing age, the child's increasing awareness of normative attitudes and stereotypes about different groups, and the tendency to conform to peer group pressure (see below).

Studies indicate that many teachers may foster both ethnic cleavage and the learning of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors in either a direct or indirect fashion. In some cases, the desegregation of schools may make the prejudices of teachers even more apparent.

Wey and Corey (1959) found that some teachers experienced difficulties in desegregation. They found, for example, that "white teachers who usually knew the names of new white pupils within a week found it difficult to identify Negro pupils and call them by name unless the Negroes were placed by seating charts" (p. 226).

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[21] However, these studies did find that cleavage on the basis of sex was manifested in the primary grades.

In a study of desegregation in the Deep South, Chesler and Segal (1967) found that teachers were often cruel to the Negro students. The term "nigger" was used frequently and many reports were made of unfair treatment. Teachers, at first, also tended to underestimate the academic ability of Negro students; however, three-fourths did change their conceptions after two years. Harris found that teachers of white children tended to base grades on actual achievement whereas teachers of Negro children used some other, undetermined base (cited in Weinberg, 1970, p. 207). Datta, et al. (1966), on the other hand, found that teachers in a desegregated junior high school in Virginia rated low-achieving Negro students as outsiders whereas high-achieving Negro pupils were described as favorably as high-achieving whites.

Studies of teachers' attitudes toward non-Negro minority group children reveal many of the same types of biases that some teachers display toward Negro children.

Several studies on teachers' attitudes toward Mexican-American children indicate that many teachers view the Mexican-American's emphasis on family solidarity as a manifestation of ethnic cleavage; that teachers criticize Mexican-American children while praising Anglo children; that teachers do not expect Mexican-American children to learn as much as Anglo children; and that the teacher's fore-knowledge of a Mexican-American child's IQ affects her characterization of the child as "looking more American." In the latter case, the higher the IQ the greater the likelihood that the child will impress the teacher as being more American. (For a review of these studies, see Weinberg, 1970, pp. 251-72.)

The attitudes which some teachers hold of minority group children are not necessarily derogatory. They may reflect, instead, a lack of knowledge of the child's culture. Brant and Hobart (1965) found, for example, that teachers of Eskimo children often mistook the "mask-like" smiling faces of their Eskimo pupils as evidence of a cheerful and happy adjustment. This view led them to ignore the children's school-related problems.

Studies of teachers' attitudes toward children of lower classes reveal much the same story. Many teachers tend to see poverty children in terms of negativistic stereotypes and to base their perception of them on social class rather than actual achievement. (For a review of these and other studies on teachers' attitudes, see Weinberg, 1970, pp. 195-212.)

Just as the ethnicity of the child may affect the teachers' attitudes toward disadvantaged and minority group children, so may the ethnicity of the teacher affect her attitudes toward children. Boger (1967) found that Negro and Mexican-American teachers entered the Head Start program with more empathy, more eagerness and more optimism about obtaining positive results than did Anglo teachers. However, Anglo teachers appeared less dominating and authoritarian than did Mexican-American and Negro teachers in their attitudes toward child behavior (although these differences, particularly between the Negro and Anglo teachers, tended to decrease with teaching experience). Interestingly, Negro teachers tended to view child behavior as being less environmentally and more biogenically determined than did Mexican-American who, in turn, were more disposed to these views than were Anglos.

Gottlieb (1964) studied inner city Negro and white teachers' views of their students. All teachers were given a check list with a number of character traits of students and were asked to check those that applied to the students (all of whom were Negro). White teachers tended to see the Negro child as highstrung, impetuous, lazy, moody, rebellious and talkative. Negro teachers, on the other hand, viewed the students as ambitious, cooperative, energetic, fun-loving and happy. The Negro teachers saw the lack of adequate physical facilities and supplies as the major obstacles to successful education of these students whereas the white teachers stressed the shortcomings in the students and their parents.

In a study involving only white middle class teachers, Faunce (1968) found that few background variables were related to teachers' attitudes toward disadvantaged children (as measured by their agreement or disagreement to questionnaire statements about disadvantaged children). From a sample of 777 elementary school teachers in Minneapolis, who had had little or no experience in teaching disadvantaged children, Faunce selected 200 teachers considered effective with low income children and 100 who were considered ineffective and analyzed their responses to the questionnaire. Faunce concluded that the effective teacher, in contrast to the ineffective, accepts the physical deprivation of the disadvantaged, recognizes ethnic and social discrimination, does not stereotype disadvantaged children, finds teaching the disadvantaged pleasant, accepts the liabilities of disadvantagement non-punitively and accepts the existence of minority subcultures. Most teachers indicated a desire for improved training in teaching disadvantaged children.

In addition to teachers' attitudes, the school administrative and other practices help to determine the inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors of children. Grouping by ability is one such practice. Not only does this practice fail to create an ethnic and social class mix but it also leads children to develop attitudes of inferiority and superiority toward themselves and others.[22] In addition, the entire school staff's attitude toward particular social classes or ethnic groups and/or integration of the school may permeate the school atmosphere to such an extent that children learn, implicity if not explicitly, the dominant school attitude toward minority groups.

For Indian children, one of the most devastating practices of segregation has been the boarding schools. For many years, the philosophy of these schools was to remake the Indian into the image of the white. Children in these schools rarely saw their parents, were not allowed to speak their own language and were discouraged in many ways from interacting or identifying with their own group. Rates of suicide, running-away, glue-sniffing and other behaviors indicative of avoidance of the school situation were high. Although many of these schools have been improved somewhat and more and more Indian children are attending public schools,[23] the school in general is not a rewarding experience for the Indian child.

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[22] One study indicates that ability grouping perpetuates existing social cleavage more along social class than along ethnic lines (Sarthory, 1968).

[23] Many Indian children attend schools on their reservations until the fourth or fifth grade when they transfer to public schools. The difficulties manifested as a result of this change indicate that the reservation schools are not preparing these children adequately for attendance in public schools.

Indian children, however, generally begin school with great enthusiasm. They seem to like school, to be very teacher oriented and to show no great achievement problems. At about the seventh grade level, something happens which some educators have called the "crossover phenomenon." Achievement begins to decline progressively and students appear apathetic, withdrawn and sullen. The changes in attitude and achievement prevail until the child either drops out of school or manages to complete school (usually at a much later age than the white child). Some workers feel that the Indian child's greatest difficulty in school stems from language differences; however, the same phenomenon occurs when Indian children speak English rather than their native language. (For a review of studies on this subject, see Berry, 1969.) Although problems related to poverty and lowered motivation through poor health and malnutrition cannot be discounted as factors in the Indian child's achievement and school behavior, the literature leaves little doubt that the attitudes and practices of whites play a great role in the school experience of Indian children. The dominant society has not educated the Indian to respect himself and his culture. Stereotypes like the "dirty savage," the "dumb," "lazy" and "immoral" Indian still appear in textbooks, are apparent in the attitudes of many teachers and are often verbalized by white students. Many investigators add to these barriers to successful Indian education, factors such as the difference in the cultural values of the Indians and whites, alienation, isolation and the reluctance of many Indian parents to interfere in the affairs of their children (*ibid*.).

Different cultural values, alienation, isolation, language barriers and other factors also affect the school experience and hence inter- and intra-group attitudes of Mexican-American children. Like the Indian, the Mexican-American child generally experiences cultural shock upon his entrance into public school. Generally, he understands very little English; yet, he is expected to speak English and may be severely reprimanded for speaking his own language in the classroom or on the playground. His warm personalistic relationship with his mother leads him to expect the same relationship with his teacher; he does not understand why she pulls back when he touches her. The culture to which he is so accustomed is usually ignored in the classroom. He learns nothing of the culture or history of his own ethnic group and thus is cut off from his cultural roots in the school. The teacher, on the other hand, is likely not to understand why the Mexican-American child is so demanding of her affection and why he cannot behave like the Anglo child. Faced with the Mexican-American child's different cultural orientations, the teacher is likely to view the child as passive, having little motivation and being unwilling to learn. Generally, she sees his parents as being uninterested in the education of their child (Montez, 1967).

Although the reasons are many and complex, one broad conclusion appears valid from the vast literature on educational practices in the United States: the school has not been a totally effective socializing agent for disadvantaged children or for many of the children who belong to various ethnic minorities. It has failed in its attempts to help many of these children to succeed academically. It has also failed to completely eradicate the prevailing norms and stereotypes that lead to prejudice and poor intergroup relations.

Socioeconomic Status

To expect either the schools or parents to totally bring about a tolerance and appreciation of ethnic and social class differences in America would be, of course, asking far too much of both. Parents and schools are only part of the broader socio-cultural properties of our society that exert a determining influence on the development of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors. One pervasive influence lies in the very social structure of our society.

Several studies cited earlier pointed to the influence which socioeconomic status has, either directly or indirectly, upon the development of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors. Of these various indicators of social class, three appear to be the greatest determinants of these attitudes and behaviors: education, occupation and income. Although studies on the influence of these social class indicators are deficient in many ways,[24] they leave little doubt that social class exerts a powerful and pervasive influence on inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors.

Education.

If schools have not succeeded in eliminating ethnic and social class prejudice, education, at least, has been a great mitigating force. The most dependable finding of research in this area is the negative correlation noted between prejudice and most kinds and amounts of formal education. Rose (1948) aptly summarized studies along this line reported up to the mid-1940's. References to studies thereafter may be found in Harding, et al. (1969), and in various studies dealing with the role of education in the formation of the authoritarian personality (see Brown, 1968).

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[24] Many of the studies cited here are dated and may not reflect the situation of today. Most of the studies have been done on small and selected samples and have been based on correlational methods. Few, if any, have succeeded in disentangling the effects of numerous factors varying simultaneously in an uncontrolled fashion.

As Harding, et al. (1969) note, the negative relationship between education and prejudice could be a function of the various selective processes (e.g., income, parental education, etc.) that determine who will receive a higher education, as well as the educational experience itself. However, after analyzing the data from some 25 national sample surveys since 1945, Bettleheim and Janowitz (1964) conclude that the effect "seems to be real rather than spurious. The lower levels of prejudice among the better educated seem to involve the social experience of education specifically and not merely the sociological origins of the educated" (p. 18).

Yet, the influence of education on ethnic attitudes, at least, is far from simple. Stember (1961) has reviewed the impact of schooling on ethnic attitudes and notes that, although the better educated are generally less prejudiced, they are also more likely to avoid intimate contacts with minority groups; to hold highly affective, derogatory stereotypes; and to favor informal types of discrimination in some areas of behavior.

When education is controlled, socioeconomic status usually shows a positive correlation with anti-Semitism (see Harding, et al., 1969). Its relationship with attitudes toward Negroes is not so clear because it varies with the attitudinal component being investigated and the types of questions asked. The most common finding is that individuals of lower class status are most likely to have unfavorable attitudes toward Negroes, the upper class toward Jews (ibid.).

Recently, Caffrey and Jones (1969) conducted a study in two Southern high schools to determine whether the growing shift toward decreasing prejudice toward Negroes is related to education.[25] They hypothesized that, if education is related to this phenomena, persons raised in an academic or professional environment or those whose parents attended college should be less prejudiced than others. To test this, they gave a Likert-type Negro Attitude Test (NAT) to students in a small town housing a state university and to students in a recently integrated high school located in a "textile mill" city. The results did not support the original hypothesis. An analysis of variance showed that there was a significant difference between boys and girls but no significant difference based on schools or education of parents. The girls from the mill town school whose parents had not attended college had the least prejudiced score (28.4), their male counterparts the most prejudiced (41.7). The mill town boys and girls whose parents attended college had the same intermediate score (34.00). In the college town, the girls of "college" parents had a prejudice score of 29.2, their male counterparts a score of 40.5. Girls of non-college parents obtained a score (38.1) that was not significantly different from that obtained by all boys in the study.[26] The authors cite another study by Caffrey and his colleagues that was conducted among Southern high school and college students. Among these students the mean NAT scores on male college freshmen were almost identical to those of high school senior boys, and female college freshmen scored the same as high school senior girls. Male and female college seniors, on the other hand, obtained identically low scores on the NAT, pointing to the possibility that increased social contacts during college life may bring about changes which do not take place while students are living at home. These studies indicate that there may be a complex interaction of the total environment--home, school, community--that affects ethnic attitudes.

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[25] The authors do not clarify why they feel education today should be related to this shift toward decreasing prejudice toward Negroes. One assumes they feel there has been an increase in the number of people receiving a higher level of education during the years when this shift has been occurring.

[26] The mean for boys of non-college parents is not given.

One might also ask how the educational level of a minority group member affects the attitudes that he holds toward his own and other groups. Current data bearing directly on this question are quite scant. However, they seem to suggest that black college students are much less prone to accept the dominant stereotypes of themselves (and others) than they were several years ago in such studies as that by Bayton (1941). Maykovich (1972) found that black, white and politically active Japanese-American college students in Sacramento were significantly less stereotypical than adults. In this study, blacks were described as aggressive and straight-forward by themselves as well as by others. Thus, it appears that the blacks' recent attempts to create a new image for themselves is reflected not only in their own self-image but in white perceptions as well. Similarly, radical Japanese-Americans appear to have become critical of their traditional stereotype as industrious and reserved. That increased education[27] may influence these "self" and "other" images is indicated by the fact that the children (grades 4-5) in the Maykovich study did not prove to have so uniform a response. As was noted previously, those in ethnically mixed schools held less stereotyped images of one another and reported more genuine friendly interaction than did those in white-dominant schools, again suggesting that contact may have some beneficial effects on inter- and intra-group attitudes and behavior.

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[27] The author does not discuss the quality of education in the elementary schools used in this sample.

The issues of contact and education as determinants in changing attitudes are touched upon later, as are the questions of the role of the schools in changing attitudes, their impact upon self-concept, level of aspiration and achievement, and the problems involved in intergroup relations as a function of desegregation of the educational environment. At this point, it is sufficient to note that we do not as yet completely understand the various ways in which educational status affects intergroup and intra-group attitudes and behavior.

Occupation and Income. The studies conducted on the relationship between occupation and intergroup attitudes have been largely concerned with adult attitudes and will be touched upon only briefly here. Reviewing these studies, Hyman (1969) cites several findings relevant to the concern of this paper. These indicate that, the higher the occupational status of the Negro, the less the social distance expressed toward him by white respondents, no matter what their own status may be. Differentiating the Negro's occupational position has more effect upon upper-status whites than upon lower-status whites. The smallest social distance appears to be expressed by high-status whites toward high-status Negroes and the greatest social distance is expressed by low-status whites toward low-status Negroes. One study conducted in a government agency found as early as the 1940's that having known Negroes of higher-status produces a generalized favorable attitude toward Negroes on the part of the whites.

That there seems to be some consensus in the United States on the status attached to various occupations was shown in several surveys (Tyler, 1956; Ruch, 1958). One study suggests that these attitudes may be learned at a rather early age. Simmons and Rosenberg (1971) found a clear awareness of occupational prestige differences among 1,917 black and white children (grades 3-12) whom they interviewed in Baltimore. The ratings given to occupations by the third grade youngsters were in an order almost identical to the rankings of high school and adult samples. However, some differences were noted. The advantaged students showed a higher degree of status consciousness and black working class students were less likely to recognize that some occupations are rated "poor" in prestige.[28]

In another study, Aronson and Golden (1962) administered an ethnic stereotype questionnaire to Northern elementary school pupils. Several weeks later, the children listened to a Negro or white adult, who was introduced as an engineer or dishwasher, deliver a speech about the value of arithmetic. Highly prejudiced children showed a smaller amount of favorable attitude change toward arithmetic after listening to the Negro than did children low in prejudice. The effect occurred both when the Negro had a high and a low occupational status. With the white communicator, the amount of opinion change was intermediate between the levels of opinion change in unprejudiced and prejudiced children who were exposed to a Negro communicator. In this case, it appeared that the ethnicity of the communicator was a more important factor in attitude change than was occupational status.[29]

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[28] One interesting finding of the Simmons and Rosenberg (1971) study was that children did not appear to accept the truth of the doctrine of equal opportunity for all. Of the 70 percent of elementary school students who were able to answer this question, all believed that some children do not have as good a chance to succeed as others and 68 percent of these attributed the cause to socioeconomic or ethnic disadvantages.

In a nationwide survey, Hyman and Sheatsley (1964) employed a question to measure attitudes toward residential integration. The question referred to a Negro "with the same income and education" moving into the white respondent's block. The framing of the question was intended "to eliminate the factor of social class . . . and leave the respondent confronted only with the issue of his potential neighbor's color" (p. 4). That it did so was indicated by a later study, also by the National Opinion Research Center, which used a question that did not specify any class characteristic whatsoever. This reduced the approval nationally by about nine percentage points, indicating that status enhanced the findings of the earlier surveys.

In another nationwide survey, Goertzel (1970) found that the integration of the social stratification system seems to depend more on occupational status in urban areas than in rural areas. (However, the degree of status crystallization was approximately equal in both types of areas.)

The lack of occupational opportunities for unskilled blacks has long been considered a factor in the lowered self-esteem of the black male. (For a review of these studies, see McCarthy and Yancey, 1971.) His marginal employment has also been linked to broken and low income homes and consequently to personality development in the children from these homes (see below). A discussion of the correlates of poverty, welfare, work training programs, employment and income maintenance programs are discussed more fully in Part II of this report. However, before concluding the discussion on occupation, one study appears relevant to the presentation which follows. Kahl and Goering (1971) found stable jobs among working and middle class blacks to be associated with high levels of personal satisfaction; they were not, however, associated with political conservatism. The authors hypothesize that awareness of group deprivation and the desire to protest are independent of personal achievement and do not appear to be frustrated responses to blocked ambition.

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[29] A recent study by Solkoff (1972) indicates that congruence in class identity between the child and an examiner, as well as the ethnicity of both, needs to be taken into account in studies on the intellectual performance of children.

Although investigators seem to agree that the role of social class indicators as determinants in intergroup and intragroup behavior needs far more study, many feel that a promising prediction can be made from available evidence: that is, as Negroes rise in the class structure, there will be an increase in favorable white attitudes. However, others believe the opposite also might occur because of status anxiety.

Status Mobility, Competition, Frustration and Aggression

The economic hardships and frustrations born by the lower classes and ethnic minorities appear to influence prejudicial attitudes and behavior and to induce hostility and aggression. Correlational findings associate economic frustrations with the number of Negroes lynched in the South in the 1930's. They also suggest that "downwardly mobile" men are more hostile to minority groups than are "upwardly mobile" men and that anti-Semitism is stronger in people who are dissatisfied with their jobs. (For a review of these studies, see Berkowitz, 1962, pp. 136-37.) Most often these findings have been related to personality variables associated with the "scapegoat theory" of prejudice (see below); however, the direction of causation in these correlational studies is always uncertain.

Dominance-subordination relationships appear to be learned early in life. Children learn that people with a favorable standing on certain of their society's hierarchies of rank often have power to administer rewards and punishments. They learn that rewards can be obtained from gaining the high-status person's approval and even that gaining his good-will itself may be a reward. They also learn that aggression directed toward a high-status person can lead to punishment and that this hostility is to be avoided. As Berkowitz (1962) notes, we see frequent examples of hostility avoidance in the workaday world. Few adults care to antagonize their employer. Lippitt and his associates (1952) observed an essentially similar process among children in their study of three summer camps. The children in each camp were divided into those with high or low social power (i.e., informal social status) on the basis of ratings of each child's ability to influence the others in his camp. In two camps for emotionally disturbed lower class boys and girls, as well as a camp for "normal" middle class boys, Lippitt and his colleagues found that the average youngster directed more deferential, approval-seeking behavior toward the high-power figures than toward those lower in status.

More empirical evidence from laboratory studies on status mobility (conducted largely on college students) indicates that a low-status person's behavior toward a high-status person will depend, at least in part, upon the degree to which the latter can control the former's upward mobility. When low-status persons feel that those of high-status determine their upward mobility, those of low-status tend to be less critical of the high-status people and to direct more communication toward them. Low-status people who believe they cannot move upward and that high-status people do not control their mobility are more critical of high-status persons and direct less communication toward them (see e.g., Cohen, 1955).[30] One is reminded of the many studies on Negroes which point out that the role which the Negro reveals to the white should not be taken as his only or "real" self (see e.g., McCarthy and Yancey, 1971).

The rise of black militancy seems to reflect a number of changes related to roles, attitudes and mobility aspirations among Negroes. Reviewing the recent empirical evidence on black militancy, Caplan (1970) delineates a portrait of the black militant. Unlike the Negro in the past, the new militant has neither the psychological defenses nor the social supports that permit him to passively adapt to barriers which prevent him from realizing his potential capabilities. He is quite flexible and is searching for practical responses to arbitrary institutional constraints which deny him the same freedom and conventional opportunities as the white majority. He is the better educated but underemployed black; he is politically disaffected but not politically alienated. He is intensely proud of being black, but neither desires revenge on whites nor is socially envious of them. He appears quite ready to compete in a society in which competition is a means to status and material gain.

A proportion of the ethnic minorities have always achieved upward mobility in America. While we do not as yet know all psychological and sociological costs of their adaptation, one thing seems certain--it has required the ability to compete. While poverty and all its concomitants may be the result of not being able to compete successfully (whether the reasons be societal or psychological), we have far too little understanding of the social and psychological costs of competition.

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[30] For a discussion of how the fear of losing status (and approval) might account for the discrepancies noted in many studies between expressed attitudes and actual behaviors, see Katz (1970).

According to present evidence, competition, whether related to economic or other factors, is regarded as a form of frustration. And frustration has been shown to be an important determinant of aggressive, hostile attitudes and behaviors, although it may be less decisive an influence than Dollard and his colleagues (1939) predict in their frustration-aggression theory (see Berkowitz, 1962).

A number of experiments on college students and adults have demonstrated that competition in the laboratory setting produces frustration, lowers liking for other members of the group, interferes with effective group functioning, and sometimes leads the loser to attribute his own strong hostile tendencies to his rival. Although anger-induced perceptions of a rival may not always lead to overt aggression, they do increase the chances of open conflict and/or the chances that aggressive tendencies will be generalized to some source other than the frustrator. (For a review of these studies, see Berkowitz, 1962, pp. 179-82.) Some of these consequences of competition were noted in an experiment involving 12 year old boys in a naturalistic setting (Sherif and Sherif, 1953).

A study conducted by Rosenfeld placed Head Start children in pairs with middle class children and required the pairs to compete. Middle class children were more successful at the puzzle task because of their greater output of task relevant behaviors. However, when the Head Start children were put together they increased their rates of relevant behavior, but lost this gain when returned to their middle class partners (cited in Grotberg, 1969).

Madsen has looked at aggressive behavior in terms of competition and conducted a number of studies to identify sub-cultural determinants of competitive and cooperative behavior while holding social class constant. Comparing such behavior among Mexican-American, Negro and white children, Madsen found that the white children were the most competitive, followed by the Mexican-American and Negro in that order. Other significant results indicated that Mexican-American boys were less competitive than Mexican-American girls or than both Negro boys and girls (cited in Grotberg, 1969). Further study by Kagan and Madsen of children's behavior in experimental play situations indicated that older children were more competitive than younger children; that an "I" orientation increased competitiveness; and that Anglo-American children tended to persist in competitive behavior even when it was clearly inappropriate (cited by Grotberg, in preparation). A number of studies presented before the Subcommittee on Indian Education[31] indicate that children in many Indian tribes are quite unwilling to compete because of the value their groups place upon cooperative behavior.

Further findings on the sub-cultural determinants of competitive behavior should be forthcoming soon when Dr. Madsen submits another final report to the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). This research should provide an estimate of the extent o cultural differences in avoidance of conflict and also shed light upon cultural differences in rivalry.

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[31] These hearings were held before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare during 1968 and 1969 and resulted in a number of publications printed for the use of the Committee. These publications contain numerous research reports containing invaluable information on a number of American Indian groups (U.S. Senate, 1969a, 1969b).

Competition, of course, is only one form of frustration that leads to aggression or displacement of hostility. Several experimental studies have attempted to uncover the relationship between various forms of frustration and the tendency to displace hostility. The earliest of these experimental demonstrations was reported by Miller and Bugelski (1948) in their study of boys 18 to 20 years of age attending a summer camp. The attitudes of these boys toward Japanese and Mexicans were measured before and after what was thought to be a severe frustration by the camp management: the boys were prevented from attending the very attractive bank night at the local movie house by the requirement that they undertake a series of long, difficult and boring tasks. Miller and Bugelski found that, after this frustration, the boys attributed a smaller number of positive traits to Japanese and Mexicans and that, to a lesser extent, they also attributed more undesirable traits to these two ethnic groups. In later replications of this study, Cowen, _et_ _al_. (1959) substantiated the findings of Miller and Bulgelski whereas Stagner and Congdon (1955) failed to find any change in ethnic attitudes after frustration by the experimenters.

Some writers have hypothesized that more prejudiced individuals have a greater need for a scapegoat than unprejudiced individuals and thus a greater tendency to displace hostility. While this need to displace hostility is a generalized tendency, the tendency toward displacement is thought to be especially strong toward minority groups.

Several studies by Berkowitz and his associates indicate that prejudiced subjects are indeed more prone to display some sort of aggression and/or displaced hostility following frustration (see Berkowitz, 1962). However, Lindzey (1950) failed to find any evidence to substantiate the scapegoat theory of prejudice. In his study, high and low prejudiced subjects were individually subjected to severe frustration in a small-group cooperative task. No difference in displaced hostility was found between the two groups as revealed by projective tests (the Thematic Apperception Test and the Rosenzweig Picture Frustration Test).

A better established finding is that prejudiced individuals are more susceptible to frustration than are individuals who are more tolerant of other ethnic groups. Lindzey (1950) found that his highly prejudiced subjects experienced significantly more frustration than his less prejudiced subjects when aroused under the same experimental conditions. A number of correlational studies support Lindzey's finding. (For a review of these studies, see Harding, et al., 1969.) One study by Berkowitz (1959), however, failed to find any relationship between degree of prejudice and susceptibility to frustration. Berkowitz (1959) did find some relationship between a high level of prejudice and extrapunitiveness. This relationship had been noted earlier by Lesser (1958) in his study of anti-Semitism among Jewish and non-Jewish boys between 10 and 13 years of age. In both groups, anti-Semitism was strongly correlated with more extrapunitive reactions to frustration (as measured by Rosenzweig's Picture Frustration Test).

The validity of the scapegoat theory of prejudice is still undetermined. One serious problem has been that of explaining the selection of the target for hostile impulses. Some investigators believe that prejudiced individuals have a need for a target who is weaker than themselves. However, this interpretation has not held up empirically (see Berkowitz, 1962). Others believe that certain ego needs force prejudiced or frustrated people to choose a target whom they perceive as relatively strong. Aggression, in this case, is an attempt to recover status or self-esteem (see e.g., White and Lippitt, 1960). Competition between groups has been offered as another explanation. Still other interpretations focus on such determinants as differences between the value systems of the frustrated and frustrator; the tendency of prejudiced individuals to project onto others those characteristics which they detest in themselves; and the visibility and strangeness of certain groups. (For a discussion of these many interpretations, see Berkowitz, 1962.)

Cooperation and Friendship

Obviously, no society could exist without some forms of cooperativeness. But, like competitiveness, the value placed on cooperativeness varies from culture to culture and among different groups in the same society.

Very little experimental work has been done on cooperation. In one study, Madsen found Negro children to be most cooperative, Mexican-American children to be "middle" cooperative, and white children to be the least cooperative (cited in Grotberg, 1969). In another study, Madsen found that a "We" orientation in the play situation increased cooperation (cited in Grotberg, in preparation). In still another study, Madsen and Nelsen paired 72 four-year-old Negro and Caucasian children in a game situation which required cooperative interaction in order to get prizes. Without going into the details of the experimental manipulations, it can be noted that the children seemed highly responsive to the cue of limited reward and relatively insensitive to both the necessity of mutual assistance and the possiblity of sharing by taking-turns in the games. None of the differences between Negro and Caucasian pairs approached significance (cited in Grotberg, 1969).

In another study Madsen and Nelsen attempted to modify social interaction (i.e., taking-turns) in five-year-olds by training experimental groups via three reinforcement paradigms: modeling, rule conformity or cooperation. Only in the cooperation training paradigm were children told that taking turns would lead to winning a prize. The results indicated that the cooperation training group differed significantly from other groups in taking turns; however, differences between the other groups were not significant. Other findings indicated that children whose training was based on cooperation during the first day of the experiment were more cooperative in their interaction in a new situation on the second day than were children trained by other methods. The results suggested that neither observing models nor being reinforced for taking turns was sufficient training to allow the children to transfer their interaction patterns to new and somewhat different games. Children in the cooperation group, however, were capable of learning the concept that prizes could be obtained only by taking turns and were able to apply this learning to new situations (cited in Grotberg, 1969).

Dr. Madsen is currently investigating, through an OEO grant, the concept of reciprocity and the development of moral and cooperative behavior. Three experiments have been designed to test the hypothesis that the salience of the concept of reciprocity is related to cooperative and moral behavior and to investigate how such a relationship, if it exists, is dependent upon age.

Manning, et al (1968) have also examined cooperative as well as competitive behavior among different ethnic groups. They placed five- and six-year-old Head Start children of different or similar ethnic groups in a two person situation where they could be either cooperative or competitive. The findings indicated that girls in similar ethnic pairs cooperated significantly more than girls in dissimilar ethnic pairs, with the exception of the Mexican-American and Negro pairs, who consistently maintained a high level of cooperation. The girls in the three ethnic groups differed significantly in amount of cooperative behavior, with Anglo-American girls competing most; however, no significant differences were found among the boys in the study. Cooperative behavior was not found to be influenced by the type of reinforcement (delayed or immediate) and was not shown to increase as a function of trials.

In their study of 12 year old children, Sherif and Sherif (1953) found that the perceived need for cooperation, and the subsequent working together to attain mutually advantageous goals, led to greater intergroup friendship and lessened earlier enmity between the groups. Similarly, cooperation between Negroes and whites in combat appeared to be one factor in reducing prejudice toward Negroes among white soldiers in World War II (see Berkowitz 1969, p. 191).

However, some experimental evidence from studies on college students casts doubt upon the hypothesis set forth by Sherif and Sherif and others that intergroup contact tends to reduce mutual alienation and hostility when it involves the cooperative achievement of a shared goal in an equalitarian environment.

In one experiment involving black and white college students, Katz and Cohen (1962) paired members of each ethnic group in a cooperative task. The Negro partner in the experimental group was allowed, through hidden arrangements, to prevail over his white partner in half of the manipulations, thereby contributing to the team's attainment of a monetary bonus. In the control group, the Negro partner assumed a relatively compliant role, enabling the white person to prevail even when he was wrong, in which case no bonus was earned. Pre- and post-measures revealed that the control subjects were even more dominant in the experimental situation than in pre-experimental setting, while in the experimental dyads dominance tended to become equalized. But, despite the fact that the experimental condition led to the attainment of a shared goal, it seemed to have a negative effect on the white subjects' attitudes. On a terminal questionnaire, whites in the experimental group downgraded the problem-solving ability of Negro partners and expressed less willingness to continue working with them than did control whites. The results of this and other studies suggest that the cooperative goal attainment hypothesis is based on an oversimplified model of ethnic relations. (For a review of these studies, see Katz, 1970.)

The significance of some of these findings on cooperation is far from clear. We still do not know how cooperation determines intergroup attitudes and behaviors or its role as a factor in achieving a successful ethnic and social class mix. What does seem clear from the research is that cooperation sometimes leads to better intergroup relations, although much work is needed to determine the conditions under which cooperation produces an enhancing effect.

Friendship, too, seems to play a role in inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors. Early studies indicated that friendship and solidarity are based, in part, on similarity of values and beliefs and on status congruence related to social class and occupation. However, belief and status congruence appear to induce friendship and cooperation only when there is no conflict of interest between the parties involved. (For a discussion of these studies, see Brown, 1968, pp. 74, 123-24.)

In a study of young children, Schwartz hypothesized that the proximity of an attached friendly and known peer would have a security inducing effect leading a child to show greater comfort, greater mobility and more verbal communication than would the proximity of a strange peer. This hypothesis was supported by his experimental evidence. He also tested whether or not the nursery school children in the friend situation would score higher on indices of security than children who had no close peer and found that this was indeed the case. Finally, he demonstrated that children in the friend situation played longer with new toys and spent less time with familiar toys than did children who were either alone or with a stranger. Since placing a young child with friendly known peers enhances his feelings of security, his mobility and his verbalizations, it is quite probable that friendship and familiarity are highly related to the child's development of positive attitudes and behaviors toward a known friend. And, since the child responds to his friend in positive ways, it seems likely that his friend's positive attitudes and behaviors toward him would be reinforced (cited in Grotberg, 1969).

Group and Cultural Values and Norms

The findings on cooperative and competitive behavior and values also point to the influence of group and cultural values and norms as determinants of intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors.

The powerful influence of the broader socio-cultural properties of our society (social structure, economic, political traditions, etc.) on the development of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors is, in fact, reflected in the normative character of these attitudes and behaviors among Americans. This has led some theorists to view ethnic prejudice as a problem rooted in the social organization and practices of a society rather than in the unique problems or pathologies of the individual (see Harding, et al., 1969).

A good deal of evidence for the regularity of ethnic attitudes in the United States can be found in the studies of the development of ethnic attitudes cited in the previous section. For example, Horowitz (1939) found that white children in New York City, urban Tennessee, and urban and rural Georgia developed essentially similar attitudes toward the Negro. Since that time, Horowitz's finding has been substantiated in many parts of the country, thus lending support to Horowitz's conclusion that emerging attitudes toward Negroes are determined chiefly by the prevalent societal attitude toward Negroes rather than by contact with Negroes.

But as Harding, et al. (1969) note, we still do not have a full understanding of the normative influence upon the development of ethnic attitudes until we see that, for most people, conflicting norms are involved. This influence of conflicting norms was shown most succinctly in Myrdal's An American Dilemma (1944). Myrdal showed that, in various situations, the attitudes of white Americans involved a compromise between the universalistic demands of what Myrdal called "The American Creed" and the particularistic requirements of solidarity with one's own class, kin and color. Subsequent experience with desegregation has demonstrated the correctness of Myrdal's analysis.

The normative character of ethnic prejudice, however, involves far more than the fact that attitudes are shared by members of a majority or minority group. Pressures are brought to bear upon the member of a group because he is expected to hold particular attitudes. Loss of status, verbal condemnation and group rejection are only part of the price one must pay for not conforming to the expectations of one's group. Often individuals do risk group ostracism by refusing to conform which testifies to the power which counternorms have upon the attitudes and behaviors of some individuals.

The influence of social norms was well illustrated by Pettigrew (1958) in his study of South African University students from whom he obtained measures of anti-Negro sentiment, authoritarianism, and conformity to social norms. He found that the more prejudiced students not only tended to conform more but generally were more authoritarian in personality. Although he suggested that the conformers were more anti-Negro because they were more authoritarian, Pettigrew was able to demonstrate clearly that the individual's tendencies toward social conformity independently influenced the extent to which he was prejudiced. For example, native born South Africans were more anti-Negro than non-natives but the two groups did not differ in authoritarianism. These findings are consistent with those in a parallel study of adults from four Southern and four Northern communities in the United States. Here too, despite differences in anti-Negro prejudice, Pettigrew found that the two populations did not differ in authoritarianism.

Experiments such as those by Asch (1956) and Crutchfield (see Krech, et al., 1962) clearly demonstrate the tendency of many college students and adults to abandon their own judgements and to conform either actively or passively to perceived group norms. R. W. Brenda demonstrated this same tendency among seven to 13 year old children (cited in Clark, 1963).[32] The reasons for conformity or non-conformity behavior vary but are seemingly related to at least the following factors: the ambiguity of the situation (non-ambiguous situations lead to less conformity); the size of the group (see Asch, 1956); the situational context; the amount of group consensus; the significance of the group to the individual (the attitudes of friends, families or a reference group may be more meaningful than those of strangers); and the degree of certainty which the individual feels about his own judgment, his desire for approval, his degree of emotional arousal and his need for independence.[33]

Several early studies found that Negro children conformed to group norms and pressures more than white children. Later studies have not fully conformed this finding. Mock (1968) studied conformity among 280 Negro and white fourth, fifth and sixth graders in Berkeley schools in 1965 when these schools were still largely segregated. He found the more whites there were in a group, the more Negro children conformed. Conversely, the more Negroes there were in the group, the less whites conformed. Schneider (1968) studied conforming behavior in 192 Negro and white seventh and eighth graders in Florida. Subjects were given several experimental tasks to perform under four grouping arrangements that varied in ethnic composition. No significant differences in conformance were found between Negro and white groups. White subjects conformed more in the face of unanimous opposition from whites than when unanimous opposition was voiced by blacks. Negro subjects were not subject to a simliar ethnic effect. The behavior occurred in a school in which there was a good deal of interethnic antagonism and in which whites were quite hostile in their attitudes toward Negroes; yet, the Negro children did not appear to buckle under the influence of their white peers. Further, Schneider did not find that Negro children became more anxious after experiencing the opposition of white peers. This finding is in contrast to that of Katz (1964) who found that black college students experienced high levels of anxiety when faced with white opposition. However, the Katz experiment differed from the study of Schneider in that black and white subjects were in face-to-face situation in the Katz experiment but in a group situation in the Schneider study.

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[32] In the Brenda study, the percentage of seven to ten year old youngsters who maintained their own correct judgment while being contradicted was far less than the percentage found in the studies on college students or adults; however, 20 percent of the older children, as opposed to 7 percent of the younger children in Brenda's study, maintained their own judgment, indicating that independence of judgment may increase with age. As in the experiments on adults, majority opinions in Brenda's study had a greater influence when the situation presented to the child was ambiguous.

[33] Theoretically, the need to conform has also been tied to cognitive factors, such as the need to reduce cognitive dissonance. Conformity also may be tied to risk-taking behavior, leadership in the group and other group factors. Since experiments on the influence of these factors have largely involved adults, have not been directly related to prejudice and are related to a number of complex factors, they will not be discussed at length here. The interested reader may consult Krech, et al., (1962) and Brown (1968) for further details.

A related investigation was conducted by O'Connor (1967) in two desegregated schools in Florida. He studied the degree to which first grade Negro and white children (age seven) would imitate adult and

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peer models in two experimental tasks. Negro children were found not to imitate white peer models more than Negro peer models. Rather, they imitated Negro peer models more than white children imitated white peer models. Conformity was not found to be especially salient among Negro children.

Among children, the peer group may exert an even greater influence than an adult upon behavior and attitudes. Brenda, for example, found that the attitudes of young children were influenced more by their peers than by their teachers (cited in Clark, 1963). However, the influence exerted by a peer group upon an individual appears to be a function not only of ethnicity, as noted above, but also of the reinforcement which the individual receives from the group. Hartup and Coates (1967) found, for example, that nursery school children who had a history of frequent reinforcement from their peers imitated the altruistic behavior of rewarding peer model significantly more than that of an unrewarding peer model. On the other hand, children who received infrequent reinforcement from peers imitated nonrewarding models significantly more than rewarding peer models. Walker (1967) found that the behavior of preschool children in free play situations was also subject to positive reinforcement (social attention) of peers. In another study, Hartup, et al. (1967) examined the relationship between peer reinforcement and social status. Social status was measured by means of observations and a picture sociometric test. Social acceptance (measured in terms of positive choices) was found to be significantly correlated with the frequency of giving positive reinforcement but was not found to be related to the giving of negative reinforcement.

Children did receive more positive reinforcement from liked than from disliked peers, although they were not found to receive more negative reinforcement from disliked than from liked peers. Overall, more positive than negative reinforcement was received from both liked and disliked peers.

In earlier studies, Tiktin and Hartup (1965) found that the response rates of second and fifth grade children on a marble dropping task increased significantly when reinforcement was given by an unpopular peer, did not change when the reinforcing agent was an isolate, and tended to decrease when the reinforcing agent was a popular peer. Also, the response rate of second graders tended to increase during the experimental session while the performance of fifth graders decreased. Peer reinforcement appeared to have a cumulative enhancing effect on the performance of second graders but an increasingly interfering effect for fifth graders. Tiktin and Hartup feel this difference in response rate may reflect age differences in responsiveness to peer group influence but note that the differences they found also may have been related to the fact that the fifth grade subjects responded at a significantly higher rate than the second graders during the base line study and thus may have become either bored or fatigued with the task later in the session. In a previous study, Hartup (1964) had demonstrated that these same effects associated with the sociometric status of the reinforcing agent were operative among preschool children; however, among the younger children the interaction between friendship status and minutes in the experimental session only approached significance.[34]

Although these studies on the reinforcement potential of the peer group do not appear to have been extended to the study of ethnic groups, such a reinforcement phenomenon may well be operative when groups with different values are placed together. Thus, the reinforcement properties of the group may be another factor to consider in achieving a social class and ethnic mix in our institutions.

The attitudes which an individual adopts and to which he conforms are not always those of the group in which he has membership. Rather, they may be those of his reference group; that is, the group with which he identifies and to which he may aspire to become a member. Some of the literature on reference groups is pertinent to the question of prejudice but, on the whole, the evidence is not very illuminating. Hyman (1969) cites evidence that Southerners moving North tend to conform to the attitudes of the new local group; however, Northerners who go South tend to hold to their old reference group. As he notes, much remains to be analyzed to clarify this mystery. In a laboratory experiment,

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[34] It is interesting to compare the Hartup studies with the study of Schwartz (cited in Grotberg, 1969) mentioned earlier in the sub-section on cooperative behavior. Although the studies are not comparable in many respects, the influences exerted by the "liked" peers in the Hartup (1964) and Tiktin and Hartup (1965) studies and the effects of the "friendly known" peer in the Schwartz study appear to differ. In the Schwartz study, the influence of the friendly known peer seemed to enhance certain behaviors thought to be conducive to learning; yet, in the Hartup studies, liked associates appeared to have a depressing effect upon performance when compared to disliked peers. Various conjectures could be made about these different findings. An obvious one is that being "friendly and known" has very different psychological implications than does being "liked." Whatever the explanation, the contrast between these studies is an example of the complexity of peer group behavior and of the difficulties that arise when one attempts to seek generalizations that might be useful in intervention strategies.

DeFleur and Westie found that nearly three-fourths of their white subjects reported that their actions (signing a release to be photographed with a Negro of the opposite sex) were governed by their reference groups. However, 60 different reference groups were mentioned by 46 subjects. Most often, the group mentioned was some type of peer group (cited in Hyman, 1969).

Several experiments have dealt with the effect of variation in the ethnicity of peer comparison standards on performance of cognitive tasks presented as intellectual tasks. All have involved male students at Negro colleges and Negro male test administrators. The results of these studies have indicated that, except in the most depressed type of segregated educational environment, the anticipation of cross-ethnic comparison had a favorable motivational effect on Negro subjects tested by Negro experimenters. Even though the white standard was perceived as more difficult to attain than the Negro standard, it also was perceived as being a more relevant (i.e., more informational) criterion of intellectual ability in American society. (For a review of these studies, see Katz, 1970.) Although these studies have been concerned mostly with the effects of ethnicity of the tester, the ethnic origin of norms, and the expectancy of success, they do point to evidence that many black college students have either adopted or aspire to the white norm in their intellectual achievement. A number of studies cited in Weinberg (1970) on the aspirations and expectations of minority group children and youth also indicate that many have internalized the norms and values of the dominant society.

The role of values in attitude formation is not well understood (Krech, _et_ _al_., 1962). It appears, from available evidence, that value orientations have certain universal aspects (see e.g., Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961; Kohlberg, 1964; Tapp, 1970) and that cultural differences represent different patterns of emphasis upon specific value orientations. The attainment of both moral and legal values, which often are interrelated with an individual's attitudes toward other groups, appears to follow some developmental process (Kohlberg, 1964; Tapp, 1970), although instrumental conditioning and imitation or learning by identification also appear to play a role. (For a discussion of these studies, see Brown, 1968, pp. 350-414.) Kohlberg has found that children (especially those in the middle class) increasingly accept the legitimacy of breaking rules for a moral cause as they grow older. Tapp (1970) found essentially the same phenomenon among children in seven cultures. She also found in tapping children's attitudes toward the function of rules and laws, that children see both rules and laws as performing equivalent functions in the ordering of human conduct. They recognized the need for order in human affairs and the role that rules and laws play in providing that order. The children expressed the desire for a fair system--one that emphasizes equality and consensus. In six of the seven cultures, parents were the most able to make children follow rules, although there was variation as to which parent was most able to perform this function according to the different norms about who does the punishing in the home. In only one country--Japan--was the teacher ranked higher than the parents; everywhere else the teacher generally followed parents in ranking of effective rule enforcers. The number of children who said policemen made them follow rules was comparatively lower, but substantial percentages nominated this symbol of law enforcement. The fact that policemen and other officials were not as effective in gaining compliance suggests that affiliative, nurturant strategies--

rather than punitive ones-- are most effective in inducing compliance and assuring the stability of social systems. Persuasion rather than coercion is more likely to be linked with both compliance and independence. As Tapp notes, the fact that common trends of child development and social goals transcend nationality suggests that the shared values throughout the world are more compelling than diverse ideologies would suggest. How to maintain children's wisdom on laws and rules into adulthood and how to transform their value orientations into more effective instruments for change remains the great challenge.

Although much remains to be learned about the influence of group norms and values upon the development of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors, it seems certain that such norms and values are generally operative in some manner and exert some degree of influence upon such behaviors and attitudes. It is only crises situations, such as the recent riots,[35] that the collapse of the social structure renders established norms of conduct ineffective for reward attainment and considerably heightens the feelings of competitiveness and expressions of hostilities among different groups. At other times, group norms and values seem to operate as one influence in maintaining some degree of cohesiveness in American society.

Belief Congruence

The individual's internalization of group (or sub-group) norms and values is reflected in his beliefs. For several years, Rokeach and his associates have argued vigorously for the importance of "belief congruence" as a determinant in the formation of ethnic attitudes (Rokeach, 1960, 1966, 1970; Rokeach and Rothman, 1965). This claim has been challenged, in part, by Triandis (1961) and has led to a good deal of experimental work since Rokeach's first investigations. Since these studies have been conducted mostly on college students, the findings and theoretical issues are touched on only briefly here. (For further review, see Harding, _et al._, 1969.)

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[35] The factors which determine group behavior in times of crises are quite complex and depend upon the type of crisis. For a discussion of mob psychology in times of crises, see Brown (1968).

Rokeach's basic claim is that, for certain types of individuals, perceived similarity or dissimilarity of beliefs is more important than ethnic differences in determining the individual's willingness to associate with other individuals on friendly terms. This basic claim has been substantiated by experimental findings. It has been clearly established that, for white college and high school students in the 1960's, belief congruence on highly emotionally charged issues (e.g., communism, atheism, etc.) _is_ a more important determinant of social distance than ethnic differences, even Negro-white differences (Stein, _et al._, 1965; Smith, _et al._, 1967).

In addition, Rokeach has proposed that members of a particular ethnic group typically believe that most members of groups toward whom they feel great social distance hold beliefs on topics of fundamental importance that are greatly divergent from their own. Byrne and Wong (1962) demonstrated that white subjects with strongly anti-Negro attitudes were indeed more likely than subjects with pro-Negro attitudes to assume that most Negroes hold beliefs different from their own on highly important issues.

Although there appears to be general agreement that belief congruence is a factor in determining ethnic attitudes, the controversy raised by Rokeach (1960) over whether belief congruence is a major (or the major) determinant of ethnic attitudes remains unresolved. Work by Triandis and Davis (1965) indicates that belief is a more important determinant of nonintimate behavioral intentions whereas ethnicity is a more important determinant of intimate behavioral intentions. Further study along this line indicates that subjects who reject a person of another ethnic group on the basis of ethnic dissimilarity perceive their parents (but not their close friends) as being less approving of even nonintimate interethnic contact than do subjects whose rejection is based on belief dissimilarity (Goldstein, 1969). Harding, et al. (1969) also propose that belief congruence may be a more important determinant in the attitudes of one religious group toward another than it is in ethnic attitudes because of the fact that membership in religious groups is defined largely by assent to a certain set of beliefs.[36]

Other Cognitive Factors

Many investigators have observed differences between the cognitive styles of prejudiced and tolerant individuals and have argued that such differences play an important role as a determinant of individual differences in overall levels of prejudice.

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[36] For a theoretical discussion of the need to be consistent in one's thinking, which has been set forth as one explanation for the underlying dynamics of "belief congruence," see the discussion of "consistency theories" by Kiesler, et al. (1969).

Frenkel-Brunswick (1948) studied 120 children, ages 11 to 16, who were either very high or very low in prejudice, as measured by the California Ethnocentrism (E) Scale. (For a description of this scale, see Adorno, et al., 1950.) She found that children high in prejudice tended to be intolerant of ambiguity (i.e., anxious in or resistant to situations that were not clearly structured). These same children also tended to think about sex roles in dichotomous terms and were inclined to define family positions in hierarchical roles. Those low in prejudice were found to be tolerant of ambiguity, to have egalitarian views toward the opposite sex and to think in terms of individualized and equal-treatment roles in the family.

Kutner (1958) undertook a comprehensive investigation of cognitive processes in seven-year-old children rated high and low in prejudice. These children were administered abstract-reasoning, concept-formation and deductive-logic tests. It was found that the children high in prejudice were more intolerant of ambiguity (in this case an inability to face uncertainty in solving problems) than were less prejudiced children. The more prejudiced children also showed a lower level of abstract reasoning than the less prejudiced children, although the two groups did not differ in intelligence.[37] Upon studying 33 of these same subjects nine years later, Kutner and Gordon (1964) again found that the less prejudiced subjects generally exhibited a greater ability to reason logically than did those high in prejudice and, on this occasion, levels of prejudice and general intelligence were found to be negatively related.

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[37] Similar findings are reported by O'Connor (1952) in a study of tolerant and intolerant undergraduate students.

Another cognitive style thought to be important in determining inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors is that of "closed-mindedness" (Rokeach, 1960). On the basis of several studies, Rokeach has defined closed-mindedness as a cognitive style characterized by a high magnitude of rejection of opposing beliefs, a relatively low degree of interconnectedness among belief systems, and a markedly greater multiplexity of cognitions about objects which are positively evaluated as compared with cognitions about objects which are negatively evaluated. The more closed the mind, the more cognitions are said to be dependent upon irrelevant wants and external authority. To measure the extent of open or closed mindedness, Rokeach developed the Dogmatism Scale which he also considers to be a personality measure of general authoritarianism. In two separate studies, scores on the Dogmatism Scale were found to correlate only .02 and -.01 with intelligence (as measured by standard group tests). These zero correlations strongly suggest that open mindedness and intelligence represent quite different aspects of an individual's cognitive functioning and personality. (For a review of the studies on dogmatism, see Vacchiano, et al., 1969.)

Not totally unlike "closed" and "open" mindedness are the "opening and closing experiences" reported by Blouch (1970). Closing experiences are described as those interpersonal encounters which result in a retreat from "ideas, persons and knowledge of self," while opening experiences are defined as those "in which the individual manifests an increased responsiveness or reaching out to and for ideas and persons."

In his study of 135 white and 50 black eighth grade students in four schools in Florida, Blouch found that black subjects reported less opening experiences and more closing experiences than white subjects. Blacks also reported more neutral experiences; that is, those which showed no evidence of either opening or closing.

Still another cognitive factor in determining inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors has been touched upon previously--that is, the tendency of human beings to classify and thus to "stereotype." This tendency to stereotype extends to groups different from one's own as well as to one's group; however, stereotypes are remarkably normative in character and, thus, in a sense are social norms. The normative character of stereotypes is indicated by the fact that they have proved marvelously responsive to social change. For example, shifts in American military alliances since World War II have brought about a corresponding shift in our stereotypes of Japanese, Germans and Chinese (see Cauthen, _et al_., 1971). Too, the public campaigns to combat stereotypical thinking over the past several years seem to be one factor in the unwillingness shown by many persons to admit to a personal belief in stereotypes (see e.g., Gilbert, 1951; Brown, 1968; Cauthen, _et al_., 1971).[39]

However, individuals vary in their tendency to stereotype. A number of studies have shown that highly prejudiced individuals are more likely to hold very intense stereotypes than are persons low in prejudice. (For a review of these studies, see Cauthen, _et al_., 1971.)

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[39] The potential of social scientists to contribute to _both_ the making and breaking of social stereotypes is succinctly pointed out by Hertzog (1970).

Age appears to be another factor leading to variations in stereotypes. As noted previously, children's stereotypes of Negroes have been found to fluctuate with age until they reach high school (Blake and Dennis, 1943). Variability of stereotypes also appears greater when the group being described is an unfamiliar rather than a familiar one. Other factors affecting the homogeneity of attitudes toward stereotyped groups are level of education and group cohesiveness. In general, the higher the level of education, the less the tendency to stereotype. Group cohesiveness, on the other hand, has been found to be related to uniformity in stereotyping. This response may be due, in part, to the tendency to conform to group norms; on the other hand, group cohesion itself is accomplished partly because members hold similar views, in which case there may be no expressed differences that require members to conform (see Cauthen _et_ _al_., 1971).

While stereotypical thinking does not have undesirable consequences for those groups favorably stereotyped, the ethnocentrism common to stereotypes has long been recognized as an inadequate and dangerous world view.

Most studies on stereotypes merely suggest how they are perpetuated and perhaps modified. One study has demonstrated that stereotypes may be learned by a kind of verbal conditioning that occurs without conscious awareness. Working with the names of six nationalities (_Dutch_, _Swedish_, _Italian_, _German_ and _Greek_), Staats and Staats (1958) presented the names of these nationalities visually to their experimental subjects who were led to believe they were participating in a learning study. Immediately following the visual presentation other words were presented aurally.

For one group, the word Dutch was always followed by unfavorable words and Swedish by favorable words. For another group, this arrangement was reversed. The other nationality names were followed by neutral words Later, the subjects were tested to make certain they heard and saw the words and were asked to rate the words and were asked to rate the words on a seven-point scale from pleasant to unpleasant. For the group that heard favorable words in conjunction with Swedish, that name was rated as pleasant and Dutch as unpleasant. For the other group, the ratings were appropriately reversed. The subjects were reportedly unaware of having consciously learned the evluations which they gave of different nationalities.[40]

Personality

The examination of the role of personality in the development of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors has a long and complex history. Within the constraints of this report, it is possible to touch only briefly upon limited research in this area and to present only broad group personality characteristics that ignore individual variations within groups.

A number of research workers have viewed intra- and inter-group behaviors and attitudes as merely part of the multifaceted manifestations of personality and have studied the role of social attitudes and behaviors in the context of their importance in the psychological economy of the total individual (see e.g., Adorno, et al., 1950; Bettelheim and Janowitz, 1950; Rokeach, 1960). Among these researchers, cognitive style and the tendency to displace hostility, which were considered earlier, are conceived of as only two of the many characteristic response tendencies in personality structures that are particularly susceptible to the development of ethnic prejudice or extreme social attitudes in general.

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[40] Other experiments demonstrating that various types of attitudes may be acquired and formed through conditioning are discussed in Kiesler, et al., 1969.

Probably the most extensive study of the relationship between personality dynamics and ethnic attitudes was the earlier mentioned study by Adorno and his associates entitled The Authoritarian Personality (1950). Using multivariate measures,[41] this team of researchers studied both college students and non-college adults, most of whom were white, non-Jewish, native-born, middle class Americans. In essence, these investigators found that highly prejudiced subjects, in contrast to those who were more tolerant, showed a more rigid personality organization, greater conventionality in their values,[42] more difficulty in accepting as part of their "self," many socially deviant impulses (e.g., fear, weakness, aggression, etc.), a greater tendency to externalize these deviant impulses by means of projection, and more inclination to be status and power oriented in their personal relationships. These personality attributes, in addition to others, such as idolizing one's parents, impersonal and punitive aggression, intolerance of ambiguity, and rigid and dichotomous thinking, were said to characterize the authoritarian personality. As noted earlier, the attributes of the authoritarian personality were found to be correlated with a family setting characterized by harsh and threatening parental discipline, conditional parental love, a hierarchical family structure, and a concern for family status. This family situation, in turn, was said to create a fear of and dependency upon parents, on the one hand, and a strong hatred and suspicion of them, on the other. Hostility generated toward parents was repressed[43] only to be displaced upon members of socially sanctioned outgroups. The prejudice of the authoritarian personality was found to be of a quite generalized nature; that is, to extend to all outgroups.

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[41] Measures included several scales devised by the research team to tap political and ethnic attitudes as well as personality functioning; interviews; projective techniques; content analysis; etc.

[42] The conventionality of the authoritarian personality was reflected not only in his ethnocentrism but in his conservatism; his firm belief in "free enterprise"; his staunch nationalism; and his pro-business, anti-labor union attitudes.

A study of such breadth and scope as *The Authoritarian Personality* could hardly escape the attention of researchers. But it was perhaps more because of its great relevance to the social issues of its day that this study generated so much heated controversy and so much new research. Within the limits of the present discussion, only some of the more significant subsequent studies can be considered. The interested reader is referred to Brown (1968, pp. 477-546) for a thoughtful review of the various methodological problems and issues that have centered about the vast literature on the authoritarian personality.

One of the first questions raised about the findings cited in *The Authoritarian Personality* dealt with the influence of a number of variables having something to do with socioeconomic status. One of the most important findings along this line came from a study by Hyman and Sheatsley (1954). Utilizing data from a National Opinion Research Council survey, these investigators showed a clear relationship between years of education and five particular items on the California Fascism (F) Scale.[44] The breakdown by Hyman and Sheatsley showed a perfectly consistent decline authoritarianism with increased levels of education. (These authors also point out that answers given by prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects in the study by Adorno, et al. (1950) may sometimes have been a function of their knowledge, and hence their education, rather than their personality dynamics.)

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[43] In a recent study of 101 high school students, Serum and Myers (1970) examined the relationship between personality and prejudice. Using scales from Welsh's (1960) Factors R & A and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), these investigators failed to find a significant correlation between either prejudice and repression or between prejudice and anxiety.

Years of education, of course, are also positively correlated with IQ. Christie (1954) reviewed a number of studies on this point and estimated that the correlation between intelligence and F scores, with education partialed out, is only about -.20 (rather than -.50 and -.60 reported in various studies in which education was not partialed out).

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[44] In the study by Adorno, et al. (1950), the F Scale was the measure most concerned with personality. It attempted to measure nine personality characteristics: conventionalism (rigid adherence to middle class values); authoritarian submission (submissive, uncritical attitude toward idealized moral authorities of the ingroup); authoritarian aggression (a tendency to look out for, condemn, reject and punish people who violate conventional values); anti-intraception (an opposition to the subjective, the imaginative and the tender-minded); superstition and stereotypy (a belief in mystical determinants of the individuals' fate, and the disposition to think in rigid categories); power and "toughness" (a preoccupation with the dominance-submission, strong-weak, leader-follower dimension; identification with power figures; overemphasis upon ego conventionalized attributes; exaggerated assertion of strength and toughness); destructiveness and cynicism (a generalized hostility, vilification of the human); projectivity (belief that dangerous things occur in the world; the projection of unconscious emotional impulses); and sex (exaggerated concern with sexual "goings on").

Thus, it seems to be chiefly education or cultural sophistication, rather than intelligence per se, that reduces authoritarianism.

In The Authoritarian Personality some importance was assigned to socioeconomic status. It was status concern or anxiety that was presumed to cause certain parents to interpret their parental role in an authoritarian way and thus to assume the parental roles correlated with producing an authoritarian child. Frenkel-Brunswick, who participated with Adorno in the original study of the authoritarian personality, also did an extensive study of prejudice in children and adolescents. In this work there were interviews with parents of children who were extremely high in prejudice and also with parents of children low in prejudice. Frenkel-Bruswick (1954) reports that the critical factor in ethnocentrism was the subjective feelings of socioeconomic "marginality"[45] on the part of the parents rather than their objective socioeconomic status. In addition, she found the familiar negative correlation between F scores and socioeconomic status. Her working class families were found to be high in ethnocentrism.

Although the evidence is strong from several studies that the lower the socioeconomic status the higher the F scores, the idea that marginality creates ethnocentrism is highly dubious. MacKinnon and Centers (1956) used a brief F scale in a public opinion survey of Los Angeles County. They found the usual correlation between authoritarianism and lower socioeconomic status. As part of the survey, these investigators asked each informant to say what social class he placed himself in and to rate the strength of his sense of membership in that class. Among those identifying themselves as middle class and those identifying themselves as working class, those who also identified themselves as "borderline" were least authoritarian.

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[45] Marginality is said to exist when there is a discrepancy between actual status and the status one aspires to.

To summarize the many findings of the studies generated by The Authoritarian Personality, higher socioeconomic status, intelligence and education are all negatively related to F scores and the relationships have proven to be stronger than the original investigators of the authoritarian personality had realized. Two other correlates found by Adorno, *et al*. (1950) are less well established: status concern or marginality and the cognitive style characterized by rigidity and intolerance of ambiguity.

As Brown (1968) notes, the major alternative explanation to the personality dynamics interpretation of authoritarianism is that the traits of the authoritarian cohere simply because they are the norms of people with little education and low socioeconomic status. However, many ideas about how personality dynamics lead to prejudice cannot be proved by correlation and would require a different, but highly difficult, type of research.

Just as lower socioeconomic status and lower levels of education appear to be related to authoritarianism and hence to prejudice, so are these status indicators correlated with strong feelings of anomy. Anomy, in turn, is highly correlated not only with poverty but also with membership in an oppressed ethnic minority. The person with strong feelings of anomy is likely also to have feelings of self-contempt and personal inadequacy; to express dissatisfaction with his own life; and to rank high on measures of hostility, anxiety, pessimism, bewilderment, and inflexibility (McClosky and Schaar, 1965).

Anomy, hopelessness, frustration, despair, mistrust and other personality factors which lead to less than optimal personality functioning were shown earlier to be prevalent among the disorganized poor. These feelings seem to be passed on from parent to child and reinforced by the larger society.

In addition, disadvantaged children and youth often do not develop satisfactory capacities for imaginative play and thought. Frequently, they display high anxiety about school and the expression of normal affection. In comparison to non-poor children, the disadvantaged are relatively lacking in a sense of personal or internal control of the environment (see Rotter, et al., 1962), hold lower achievement and vocational expectations (though not necessarily lower aspirations) and report greater feelings of inadequacy in school. The vast array of literature on these issues has been aptly reviewed and summarized by The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (1969) and thus will not be expanded upon here.

Where poverty and social disorganization are present, the personality development of white and non-white individuals may have much in common. This is especially true when comparing very poor white and Negro individuals, since both groups are not too culturally different from one another.

However, it is especially difficult to characterize the personality structures of non-Negro minorities in America. The effects of social class and social organization interact in these cases not only with cultural values that differ from those of the dominant society but also with the degree of acculturation which the individual and his group has experienced. To document the differences in personality structure of any non-minority group, and of factions within that group, would require a volume in and of itself. Thus, only a few illustrations will be given to point to the complexity of this problem.

Among the second generation of Japanese-Americans, Smith (1970) distinguishes six personality types: 1) the conformist type who accepts either actively or passively the traditional Japanese ways; 2) the marginal type who is torn between the Japanese and American worlds but can find no real place for himself in either world; 3) the rebellious type who has broken away from the "old system" but has not worked out for himself any consistent scheme of behavior; 4) the emancipated type who has almost completely broken away from the oriental culture but has not necessarily completed the process of acquiring western culture; 5) the defeated type who, because he can see no way of satisfactory adjustment, throws up his hands in despair and drifts in the easiest way; and 6) the philosophical type who analyzes the situation in a rational way and sets about to solve the problems which confront him.

The American Indians differ in personality structure according to the tribe to which they belong. As with the Japanese-Americans, there are also differences within each sub-cultural group. However, where assimilation or a great degree of acculturation has not occurred, the differences between individuals within a given tribal group seem to be no greater than the individual variations that are found in any group. For example, a somewhat homogenous personality structure (allowing for age and sex differences) has been noted among Zuni children. Of all Indian groups, the Zuni have remained the most resistant to cultural change. Various tests administered to Zuni children show they are quite well adjusted and self-sufficient. Analysis of Rorschach protocols indicate that they have highly developed inner resources, possess a good imagination, and have good control in personal interactions, even though they appear to be highly constrained and introverted. Also, they seem to be "inflexible" and resistant to change because of an inner conviction that their "way of life is a good way." Leighton and Adair (1963) state that the main feature of the personality of the Zuni child is "clearly an emphasis upon conscious control aimed at maintenance of smooth outer functioning with wide variation of personal excesses." Anxiety, however, is the "other side" of this outwardly, smooth-functioning personality. The Zuni child talks little about "world spirits" but fears them; shows a marked dislike for aggression; is easily embarrassed; and is highly concerned with the impression he makes upon others, particularly non-family members. However, Leighton and Adair feel that the Zuni child handles this anxiety quite well through the process of sublimation. This process functions in the rich, systematic Zuni ceremonial life and in the Zuni's concern with practical details. This concern with details appears, in a sense, to be "compulsive" but is thought to account for the fact that hostility and anxiety were found to be far below the level expected for these children. Because the Zuni and Hopi share many cultural values in common, children in both tribes have been found to show many of the same personality characteristics on the same types of personality measures; however, personality disturbances do appear among Hopi children from mesas that have undergone cultural disintegration (Thompson, 1950).

The most convincing evidence for the adverse effects that acculturation can have upon American Indians comes from the ten year field study of Hallowell (1955) who, as part of his investigation, administered Rorschach tests to three types of Chippewa[46] Indians: a group which had had little contact with the outside world; a group who retained many aboriginal ways but showed a low degree of acculturation; and, a group which had had extensive contact with whites over a long period of time, had lost most of the old ways of life, and was somewhat socially disorganized. What Hallowell found, in general, was that the two groups who showed few signs of acculturation also showed no signs of serious personality dysfunction. The protocols of the more acculturated group, however, showed many indications of personality dysfunction; few differences were noted between adults and children. The more acculturated group seemed to be suffering from severe, deep-seated inhibitions in their interpersonal relationships, emotional immaturity and a breakdown of the type of inner control common to the more aboriginal Chippewa.[47] The breakdown of inner control was manifested in actual behavior in the high incidence of drunkenness, juvenile delinquency and a disregard for externally applied controls. Hallowell attributed much of the maladjustment of the highly acculturated group to the lack of any positive substitute for that aspect of the aboriginal value system which has its core in religious beliefs. He did find that women in the highly acculturated group were better adjusted than the men, seemingly because of better economic advantages and greater contact with the whites.

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[46] Two of these groups resided in Canada where they are known as Ojibwa: the most acculturated resided on the Lac du Flambeau reservation in Wisconsin.

[47] Other investigators had obtained similar results from Rorschach protocols of the Lac du Flambeau Chippewa group (see Hallowell, 1955).

Despite the differences in the Rorschach scores of the three Chippewa groups, all were highly introverted, showed few signs of expecting much from others, and a disinclination to develop close emotional ties with others (as compared to the responses of white samples on the Rorschach test). After a careful analysis of historical records, Hallowell was able to show that these characteristics of the Chippewa personality had been reported since the white man first came into contact with this tribe. This, like other studies, indicates that the personality configuration fostered by a particular cultural group tends to endure over several generations and through various stages of acculturation.

Hallowell (1955) also compared his findings on the Chippewa with those of the Spindlers (1958) on a Menomini tribe who, like the Chippewa, are an Algonkian-Woodland people. Unlike the more accultured Chippewa, however, this Menomini tribe had been able to exert considerable control over its own fate due to a cooperatively owned sawmill.[48] The least acculturated Menomini did resembel Hallowell's least acculturated Chippewa (indicating that the Woodland Indians shared a similar culture and personality as many had hypothesized); however, the "Elite" Menomini, whom the Spindlers believed to be oriented toward white middle class values, and who were the most successful in business, did very much resemble a white sample with whom their Rorschach profiles were compared. The latter finding suggests that acculturation, in and of itself, is not sufficient to bring about personality changes; these changes seem to come about when one cultural group internalizes the values of another group and has a chance to actively participate in activities that correspond to these values.

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[48] Since the Spindlers' study, the Menomini have lost much of the control over their own fate after losing reservation status; the result has led only to increased welfare rolls and disorganization among the Menomini, for various reasons somwhat beyond their control (see Cahn, 1969).

There is evidence, in fact, that internalization of middle class values may lead to serious personality dysfunction when there is no concomitant chance to become a part of middle class society. In a study of Northern and Southern Negroes in Philadelphia, Parker and Kleiner (1966) found that the incidence of mental illness was much higher among the Northern, better educated Negroes who had high apiration levels but few chances to realize their aspirations than among the less educated Southern Negroes who also had few chances for great occupational advancement but correspondingly had low levels of aspiration.[49]

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[49] Langner, _et_ _al_. (1967) also found psychiatric impairment to be higher among middle class than among lower class Negro children and their families in New York City. Among Langner's Spanish-speaking sample, no real differences were found between low and high income children in the incidence of psychiatric impairment. Langner and his associates believe that environmental factors such as prejudice and job discrimination have a greater effect upon family cohesion, familial relationships, self-concept, etc., among higher income than among lower income Negro and Spanish-speaking families; these factors, in turn, mean that higher socioeconomic status does not decrease the chances for psychiatric impairment among these minority groups.

That Negro children and youth do have high levels of aspirations has been shown in many studies. Several studies also have shown that non-Negro minority group children sometimes hold high aspiration levels. However, most often these children do not have high expectations about their future. (For a review of these studies, see Weinberg, 1970.) The discrepancy between aspiration level and expectation of success among minority group children may well reflect their realistic appraisal of their location in the social system and, this appraisal, in turn, may be one reason why serious personality disorders are not as prevalent among the poor and socially oppressed as one might expect.[50]

Closely related to the studies on aspiration levels and expectations among disadvantaged and minority group children is the large body of research on the self-concept of these children. Much of the early research on self-concept centered on attitudes toward one's own ethnic group, and simply assumed a relationship between these attitudes and attitudes toward oneself. Several such studies were cited previously, such as those by Clark and Clark (1947), Goodman (1952) and others. These studies consistently found that Negro children identified negatively with their own ethnic group. Later, Butts (1963) and Meyers (1966) found support for the assumed relationship between ethnic concepts and self-concepts among Negro children.

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[50] The rates of mental illness and serious personality disturbances are reportedly higher among the poor and among many minority groups than among the white middle and upper classes. However, the measures of the prevalence and incidence of mental illness are based on figures obtained from public institutions in which the poor and minority group persons are most often treated. The middle and upper classes not only have less chance than other groups of being included in the figures of incidence and prevalence, but also generally receive treatment earlier than lower class and minority group individuals so that serious disorders may be averted. Thus, our figures on mental and emotional disturbances as related to class and ethnicity and our beliefs about the factors underlying these figures are biased in many ways; however, few would doubt that the hardships brought about through poverty and "racism" increase the individual's chance of becoming emotionally disturbed or mentally ill. (For a discussion of these problems, see Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, to be published.)

In a review of the studies on the self-concepts of minority group children, Zirkel (1971) notes that several studies involving children in elementary and junior high school have found a significantly higher mean self-concept for whites than for Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Indians and Puerto Ricans.

However, as noted in the previous section several recent studies have not substantiated the earlier findings that young Negro children identify negatively with their own group (Ogletree, 1969; Hraba and Grant, 1970; Fraser, 1972). Further, some studies have even shown that Negro and/or disadvantaged children have a higher self-concept than white children (see e.g., Weinberg, 1970; Zirkel, 1971). There is, in addition, a growing body of research which shows no significant differences between the self-concepts of white and minority group children. To confuse the issue still further, studies on the self-concept of minority group children in both segregated and integrated schools have produced conflicting results, as will be noted in the next section.

The problems involved in research on self-concept are many. They include problems of definition (at least 15 different definitions exist in the literature), instrumentation[51] and design.

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[51] The instruments used most often to measure self-concept are of the self-report, paper-and-pencil type (e.g., rating scales, open-ended questionnaires, the adjective check list, etc.), although some have been based on the responses of other sources (e.g., teachers). Often the same instruments are used to measure different self-constructs or the same constructs are measured by different instruments. (For a more detailed discussion of the problems related to definition and instrumentation, see Zirkel, 1971.)

In the area of design, organismic variables such as sex, age and socioeconomic status are often not taken into account. However, at least two studies have shown that these variables may significantly affect the results obtained from self-concept measures. Wylie (1963) and Hodgkins and Stakenas (1969), for example, found that significant differences between the self-concepts of Negro and white subjects disappeared when differences in socioeconomic status were taken into account. A different relationship between self-concept and ethnic membership has also appeared where researchers have controlled for such response variables as IQ and achievement (see e.g., Gibby and Gabler, 1967; Wilson, 1967).

Problems in definition also may account for some of the conflicting findings concerning the effects of an ethnic mix on the self-concept of minority group children. Caplin (1968), for example, found that Negro children attending a _de facto_ segregated school had significantly less positive school related self-concepts than did black children attending newly and long term desegregated schools; however, this difference was not evident when self-concept was measured as a global construct based on the social context of personal perceptions. Miller and Woock (1970) attributed Soares and Soares' (1970) unexpected finding that disadvantaged (largely Negro) children had a higher self-concept than advantaged children to just such a distinction. They stated:

> What seems to be involved . . . is a distinction between a _general_ self-concept or self-perception, in which disadvantaged children may come off reasonably well, at least when they are in segregated schools, and a self-concept of achievement, that is, self measured against the standards and expectations of the school as a middle class institution (p. 171).

Similar differences in general versus more specific self-concept measures are noted by Zirkel (1971).

Another important variable to be considered in the interpretation of the findings on self-concept is that of time. It is interesting to note that, in Zirkel's (1971) review, most of the studies reporting a significantly lower self-concept for Negro than for white children have generally earlier dates than do the studies reporting the absence or reverse of such differences. As Kvaraceus, et. al., (1965, p. 43) pointed out, "past research may be quite wrong in the context of today's militancy." In this vein, a number of investigators have found that identification with the civil rights movement may enhance the self-concept of Negro children. (For a review of these studies, see Zirkel, 1971.) Roth (1970) found that a sample of Negro fifth grade students' opinions regarding ethnic pride were extremely positive in an area of the North[52] where various groups were active in programs which build positive black pride.

In summary, the findings concerning the relationship of self-concept to ethnic membership and mixture seem equivocal and inconsistent. At best, it seems safe to say that ethnic group or social class membership and mixture may either enhance or depress the self-concept of a disadvantaged or minority group child. The studies seem to indicate that whether or not the self-concepts of these children are significantly affected depends to a large extent on the effort that society expends on desegregation and the disadvantaged. Meanwhile, as Zirkel (1971) has pointed out, the "Black Pride" movement and the nascent movements of Chicano, Indian and Puerto Rican power indicate that the supposed "disadvantage" of belonging to an ethnic minority can be turned into an advantage; that is, an enhanced self-esteem.

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[52] The environmental dimensions of place have also been neglected in the design of many studies on self-concept; however, it can be said that findings showing a favorable self-concept among Negro children have not been confined to any particular geographical region (see e.g., Weinberg, 1970; Zirkel, 1971). For example, Baughman and Dahlstrom (1968) found that the responses of Negro children in a rural Southern community reflected a markedly positive self-concept which, in some dimensions, exceeded the favorable self-concepts of white children.

Other studies on the relationship between personality and inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors suggest that the way in which our society handles the problem of ethnic and social class mix is indeed dependent upon personality variables The rigid, conventional authoritarian personality is likely to impede change, to reject those who differ from himself. And, for many of those who do indeed differ from the majority, such as the American Indian, drastic personality changes are not likely to come about in the near future, if at all.

America is a land of different peoples. Its dream of a "melting pot," of making all its people alike, has not been realized, and is not likely to be realized. Embedded in the fabric of our pluralism are many factors which impede change but which lie somewhat outside the realm of the individual; these include the variables related to social structure, group norms and cultural values discussed earlier in this section.

But, the conflicting values noted by Myrdal (1944) in his The American Dilemma are still operative. Since Myrdal's studies, many advances have been made in granting a greater equality to all American citizens. Today the question has become not only one of how to further this equality but also, for many, how to bring about a true appreciation of the strengths that lie in our diversity and how to accomplish this by bringing Americans together in a truly harmonious relationship. The problem of how to bring about this change in social relationships is the focus of the next section.

CHANGING INTERGROUP AND INTRAGROUP ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

The problem of how to bring about attitudinal and behavioral changes that will eliminate prejudice and lead to harmonious relationships between and among different ethnic and social class groups has long preoccupied many Americans. Numerous suggestions have been made and various research and action programs implemented to accomplish these goals. Some ideas and programs have involved changes in the American social structure. These include equal employment opportunities and the work and job training programs discussed in Part II of this report. Other approaches of a legal and political nature have revolved around the desegregation of public institutions and communities. Still other approaches have involved non-legal means of increasing intergroup and intragroup contact. Finally, there have been those measures designed to bring about change through educational and informational approaches. Some of the successes, failures, problems and strategies underlying these various approaches are discussed in this section and in Part II of this report.

Attitudes Toward Integration

Before turning to the issues specifically related to change, it seems appropriate to review briefly some of the findings on the attitudes of Americans toward integration and some of the underlying reasons for these attitudes. Most of this work as can be noted, has dealt with the issue of school desegretation.

Sartain (1966) studied the attitudes of parents and children toward desegregation. He found that favorable parental attitudes were positively correlated with high socioeconomic status, active church participation, non-Southern regional background and low authoritarianism. Parents who felt favorably toward desegregation also perceived a greater percentage of the community and their friends (peer group) as being favorably inclined toward desegregation than did those opposed to desegregation. Sartain also found a strong positive relationship between the child's attitude toward integration and his perception of parental and peer attitudes; that is, it seemed to be the child's perception of his parents' and peers' attitudes rather than their stated attitudes that affected the child's own attitudes toward integration.

Several investigators have found white opposition to desegregation to be greatest among the lower and working classes. Some students of this problem feel this opposition is due to status anxiety (e.g., fear of competition in employment, housing, etc., and fear of loss of esteem).[53] (For a review of these studies, see Katz, 1967.)

Social class also seems to be related to Negro attitudes toward school integration. Burgess found that Negro leaders who favored desegregation were backed on this issue by 85 percent of the Negro upper class but by only 60 percent of the middle and 40 percent of the lower class. Not more than 48 percent of the total Negro sample surveyed favored immediate desegregation (cited in Katz, 1967).

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[53] The "threat" hypothesis has also been used to explain black opposition to integration; however, in the case of black opposition, the "threat" postulated is either that of fear of white retaliation or a reluctance to expose one's child to prejudice against blacks in the school setting.

In an East Texas county, where 75 percent of the families were rural and a disproportionate number were of low income, Kuvlesky and Cannon (1971) found that many blacks did not desire school integration, even though they believed such integration was possible or had indeed taken place. Of the 259 homemakers interviewed, most were relatively positive about the possibility for ethnic integration in general but were divided on the desirability of integration. Most perceived a high degree of prejudice toward blacks on the part of whites.

Ransford (1970) also found that many lower class Negroes did not favor integration. Interviewing 312 Negroes after the Watts riots, Ransford found that dark-skinned Negroes tended to be in lower occupation and income levels than light-skinned Negroes, even when education was held constant. Dark-skinned Negroes expressed more hostility toward whites, a more favorable attitude toward the use of violence and were more strongly opposed to integration. However, color was found to be a strong predictor of "anti-white" feelings only among the working and lower classes, those who had had no social contact with whites, and those who felt powerless to exert control through institutional channels.

In Berkeley, on the other hand, Jensen (1970) found that the majority of both black and white parents favored integration (although many disapproved of busing as a means of attaining integration). Interestingly, the majority of both ethnic groups also favored ability grouping in the schools. Favorableness toward integration, however, was positively related to higher educational level in both ethnic groups.

Stetler (1961) found essentially the same attitudes among blacks and whites living in metropolitan areas of Connecticut. Interviewing more than 1,100 persons, who were almost evenly divided by ethnic group, Stetler found that three-fourths of the whites and nearly all of the Negroes agreed with the Supreme Court decision to end segregated schooling. Moreover, about one-half of the respondents from both ethnic groups felt that the drive for Southern desegregation had positively affected ethnic relations in Connecticut. One-fifth of the whites and three-fifths of the Negroes wanted integration "now." Although white attitudes toward increased integration were higher than Negroes had assumed, about one-fourth of the whites merely tolerated school integration in Connecticut and did not prescribe it for the South. About the same proportion of whites favored integration of the churches; however, a considerably smaller proportion favored integrated housing and intermarriage. One-fifth of the white respondents had not talked with a Negro for months and an equal number had never had a personal conversation with a Negro. Only one-tenth of the whites felt that Negroes wanted more integration when, in fact, only one Negro in 100 was against complete integration on an immediate basis.[54]

Conant, *et al.* (1969) interviewed black and white persons, 18 years and older, in San Francisco, Boston, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Dayton and Akron during the late 1960's. They found that most white respondents felt that the pace of integration was about right; however, the poorly educated whites with no black friends felt the pace was too fast whereas the younger, college educated whites with black friends felt the pace was too slow. Among black respondents, there was less polarization in attitudes about the pace of integration. Intimate contact with whites, combined with low educational achievement and high economic status, correlated with less dissatisfaction about the pace of change while college education and age (over 25) was related to the greatest amount of dissatisfaction.

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[54] A large scale survey of white and Negro populations in 11 Southern states in the early 1960's indicated that Southern whites, especially those in the Deep South, had little awareness of the true attitudes of Southern Negroes on desegregation. A greater awareness was found among whites in the border states (Matthews and Prothro, 1962).

In a supplemental study for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Campbell and Schuman reviewed the ethnic attitudes of more than 5,000 Negroes and whites in 15 major American cities. They reported that "separatism" appealed to from five to 18 percent of the Negro sample, depending on the question asked. The largest appeal for separatism involved black ownership of stores and black administration of schools in Negro neighborhoods; the smallest appeal involved the rejection of whites as friends or as participants in other informal contacts. More than three-quarters of the Negro sample indicated a clear preference for integration, one that reflected a commitment to the principles of non-discrimination and ethnic harmony. At the same time, two out of five Negroes subscribed to an emphasis on "black consciousness" (Michigan-Ohio Regional Educational Laboratory, 1969).

Teachers also have been found to favor desegregation of the schools (see e.g., Jensen, 1970; Kellner, 1970). However, the majority do not always favor busing as a means to achieving integration (Kellner, 1970), and younger teachers have been found to be more favorable toward desegregation than older teachers (Jensen, 1970).

Other evidence of greater acceptance of integration on the part of white adults comes from various opinion polls which have shown that white Americans have become increasingly willing to send their children to school with Negro children. A comparison of various polls taken indicated that the gap between Southern and Northern white adults narrowed dramatically in the years 1963-1969, and in each case favorably toward integration. Geographical differences over this time period became only slightly more significant than educational differences in relation to the attitudes of whites toward integration. (For a review of these studies, see Weinberg, 1970, pp. 325-34.)

As for children themselves, there is not much evidence on their attitudes toward integration. As noted earlier, Koslin and her colleagues (1969) found that Negro children began to prefer an all-black, rather than all-white classroom, by the time they reached the third grade. However, in a later study (also on children in grades 1-3), Koslin and her associates (1970) found the score distribution of Negro children's preference for an all-black classroom to be distinctly divided into three populations: one group (42%) chose an all-white classroom two-thirds of the time; another group (35%) chose black classrooms two-thirds or more of the time; and a third group (23%) evidenced no consistent pattern.

There is some evidence that the child's initial attitudes toward desegregation are concordant with his perceptions of his parents' attitudes on this issue. Also black children have been found to be more favorable toward desegregation than white children, although the attitudes of black children appear to be related to socioeconomic status, educational level, degree of contact with whites and the black child's perception of whites. (For a review of these studies, see Carithers, 1970.) Among high school and college students, peer group ties appear to be a dominant factor in the attitudes of blacks toward integration. For example, in his study of black students' reasons for enrolling in desegregated white schools, Crockett (1957) found that Negro seniors remained in segregated schools while underclassmen transferred to integrated schools. This finding was not dependent upon the socioeconomic status or ability of the students studied. This suggests the importance to segregationist behavior of peer group ties: a senior occupies a prestigious position in the school, and to transfer--especially to an integrated school--would threaten that prestige.

A number of investigators have pointed out that attitudes alone are relatively poor predictors of white people's reactions to desegregation. Before integration occurred in the District of Columbia, for example, 52 percent of the white adult population was against it, 24 percent was neutral, and only 24 percent favored integration. But, except for a brief student strike, which was not widely supported by adults, the first steps toward integration were carried out uneventfully. The school superintendent was sufficiently encouraged to speed up the process. When the respondents in the pre-desegregation survey were reinterviewed at the end of the school year, it was found that, of those who initially disapproved of the Supreme Court decision, only 29 percent felt that desegregation in Washington was unsuccessful. Studies conducted in other parts of the country have reported similar findings (Katz, 1967). Nevertheless, in the Washington, D. C. case, the changes in attitudes toward desegregation did not prevent an exodus of whites and middle class blacks from the city. By 1969, 94 percent of the District was comprised of black residents, many of whom were of the lower and working classes.

Reviewing the studies on Americans' attitudes toward desegregation, one comes to two general conclusions: 1) there is often a discrepancy between attitudes and behaviors in the desegregation process; and, 2) the strongest support for school desegregation among both minority and and majority groups comes from two main sources--those with higher educational levels and those who, as children, themselves attended desegregated schools. (On the last point, see Weinberg, 1970, p. 347.)

Contact and Change

In many respects, contact between persons of different social classes and ethnic groups has been minimal in the United States. Segregation has been sanctioned in many forms, sometimes by legal measures, sometimes more by custom and other informal means. Neighborhoods, schools, work-roles and other aspects of American life have often been markedly homogenous with respect to social class and ethnic membership. Recent laws to end segregation and discrimination have limited separatist practices to some extent but many of the old attitudes and informal types of segregation continue to isolate different groups from one another in a psychological, if not a physical sense.

Isolation, no doubt, reinforces many prejudicial attitudes and practices and probably enhances what Newcomb (1947) has termed "autistic hostility."[55] With little communication occurring between different groups, stereotypical thinking has little chance of being corrected by reality.

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[55] Autistic hostility has its roots in autistic thinking. This type of thinking is said to be almost completely dominated by wants and emotions with no effort being made to "check" the content of thinking against reality. A person engaged in autistic thinking withdraws from communication with the target of his hostility. The lack of communication often allows the individual's thinking to be reinforced in various ways and also may create reciprocal feelings of hostility in the person or group who is the target of autistic thinking.

Contact, it has been hypothesized, should increase communication which, in turn, should lead to more harmonious relationships between and among persons of different social classes and ethnic groups. Shared goals requiring cooperation should enhance better relations even more.

However, as noted previously, these hypotheses have not always been confirmed in social reality. Contact, in fact, sometimes brings about an increase in prejudice (at least toward ethnic minorities).[56] Attaining more favorable attitudes toward "outgroups" appears to depend upon the conditions under which interaction occurs. Especially crucial to attitudinal and behavioral change is the relative balance of competitive and cooperative elements in the specific contact relationship; meeting under equal-status conditions or as functional equals often appears to lead to favorable changes in intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors (Harding, et al., 1969).[57]

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[56] There appears to have been no systematic study of whether or not contact between persons of different social classes brings about a reduction or an increase in prejudicial attitudes toward persons of different social classes.

[57] It is also possible that pleasant contact itself may induce change among individuals for whom a correlation has been found between discomfort in meeting strangers and discomfort in the company of Negroes (see Hyman, 1969, pp. 30-31). As Hyman notes, Negroes and whites in the past have been strangers. Thus, as they come to know one another, they may come to feel less distant and uncomfortable toward one another and the way toward integration may ease.

Contact in Recreational Settings

Only a few studies have been conducted on the effects of interethnic contact in recreational settings. These have not produced consistent evidence of a reduction in prejudice. Mussen (1950) and Hogrefe, et al. (1947) reported no change in the overall direction of ethnic attitudes toward Negroes among white boys in an interethnic camp and an interethnic play center, respectively. In the Mussen study, white and Negro boys spent four weeks living and playing together in a camp. Significant attitude changes did occur among some boys; however, unfavorable changes were just as frequent as favorable ones. The negative attitude changes were found to be correlated with personality variables, as measured by the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). The TAT stories of children who developed more negative attitudes during the camp stay, as compared with those who developed more positive attitudes, revealed stronger aggressiveness, greater need to defy authority, more frequent feelings of victimization, etc.

Yarrow and her associates (1958) studied eight to 13 year old white and Negro boys and girls from low income homes during a two week stay at summer camp under conditions of both ethnic integration and segregation. These investigators employed detailed observations, sociometric choices, interviews and other techniques to ascertain both attitudinal components and overt behavior in each camp setting. Although shifts in long-standing interethnic orientations did not occur, it was found that social distance between the groups was generally reduced under the integrated condition and that ethnic membership as a criterion of friendship exerted less influence at the end of the two week camp period. A major factor which seemed to determine the new standards of conduct and feeling among the children in the integrated camp was the consistent expectation of equality that characterized the behavior of the Negro and white counselors toward the children and each other.

However, Yarrow and her associates (1958) found that cross-ethnic friendships in the integrated camp developed primarily between cabinmates. Further, these positive interactions were confined largely to the cabin setting. In broader settings (swimming, games, etc.), small segregated groups appeared more frequently. What this finding suggests, as Harding, et al. (1969) note, is a role-specific attitude change. As will be noted later, such role-specific attitude changes are a frequent result of equal-status contacts among adults in residential and occupational settings.

More recently, Kraus (1968) has conducted a study of Negro participation in public recreation programs in 24 suburban communities in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and five boroughs of New York City. Kraus found that teams formed on a neighborhood basis for city-wide competitive recreational activities tended to be either all white or all black, unless the recreation director really worked for integration. Kraus noted that it was becoming more difficult to schedule inter-neighborhood play because of antagonism between blacks and whites and threats of reprisal among members of opposing teams.

Kraus also found that activities such as tennis, archery and golf, which supposedly represent "upper class" taste, tended to have all white participants. The exception to this pattern was dramatics which was segregated on an all black basis (even in some Federally-funded community action programs).

Within the Negro population, Kraus noted a shift within age levels in the degree of participation in different types of recreation programs.

Negro children below the age of 12 were found to be very active in public recreation programs. Teenage Negroes were less active in these programs, especially in suburban areas. Adults participated very little.

Overall, Kraus found that recreation directors made few efforts to involve minority group member in the recreational activities or to reduce friction between whites and other ethnic groups. Many directors expressed the attitude that antipoverty programs were "troublemakers" in the community.

Kraus also reported that blacks in many areas resented white recreational personnel. In some cases, resentment was expressed toward Negro recreational personnel as well. Militant Negro teenagers were particularly intolerant of a Negro staff member whom they perceived as "educated." These teenagers insisted on a worker who spoke "their own language" and shared their own values.

In summary, Kraus found that little deliberate use was being made of recreation as a means of developing positive intergroup relations. This was particularly true in school desegregation programs where students were bussed out when the school day ended.

Contact in Residential and Occupational Settings

The most dramatic changes in attitudes and behaviors following intergroup contact have been observed in settings where two different ethnic groups have both lived and worked together in situations requiring a high degree of mutual cooperation. Several studies of American servicemen, both during and after World War II, indicated that contact generally led to more favorable intergroup attitudes. For example, the Information and Education Division of the U.S. Department of War (1947) found that white soldiers in units that had companies made up of white and Negro platoons were much more favorable toward having white and Negro platoons in the same company than were white soldiers in all white units. Several studies found that white soldiers had more favorable attitudes toward Negroes after fighting together with them in combat.[58] (For a review of these studies, see Harding, et al., 1969.)

Negro veterans' attitudes toward whites also appeared to change positively in many cases. Roberts (1953) reported that three-fourths of the Negro veterans whose autobiographical material he analyzed reported feeling hostile to whites prior to military service. After the war, 51 percent reported favorable attitudes toward whites, 29 percent were unchanged and 20 percent were more antagonistic. Roberts suggests that the reversal of attitudes for some Negro veterans was probably the result of novel experiences, including exposure of Southern Negroes to unsegregated facilities, formation of friendships and contact with European whites.

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[58] The better relations between different ethnic groups under such conditions as combat has led many theorists to believe that ethnic cohesion occurs in contact situations in which the participants experience "shared stress." Wertzer (1971) tested the "shared threat" hypothesis under very specific and prescribed situations in which unmarried black and white mothers-to-be lived together during the last trimester of their pregnancies. Using a number of attitude and personality measures, including the F scale described earlier, Wertzer measured the ethnic attitudes of these mothers-to-be at the time of admission and six weeks later. Little changes were noted in overall attitudes; however, whites tended to become more negatively inclined toward blacks over time, although their initial levels of prejudice were quite low. A small group of whites did show a more favorable attitude toward blacks during the residence. This group appeared to develop new ties to an interethnic reference group and were noted to participate more in interethnic outings away from the residence than the remainder of their white peers. No comparable behaviors were noted for blacks. As in many studies, a discrepancy was noted between attitudes and behavior: the more tolerant individuals of both ethnic groups did not engage in more interethnic activities.

Studies specifically related to the effects of intergroup contact in a particular type of work situation have found that whites who worked with Negroes on an equal-status basis were more willing to continue such a relationship than were whites who had never worked with Negroes. Although it was noted that white workers sometimes exhibited initial hostility to Negro co-workers, this reaction was followed by a gradually increasing acceptance of Negroes as peers. However, most of these studies have also found that the favorable acceptance of Negroes has been role-specific; that is, limited to the work situation. In only one study was the work contact between different ethnic groups shown to lead to closer and more intimate relationships outside the employment setting. Interestingly, this same study found that interethnic neighborhood contacts tended to remain on a casual basis.

Such consistently favorable attitude change has not been reported from survey studies in which a question on interethnic work experience was included as part of a broader survey dealing mainly with other topics. One such survey reported more favorable attitudes toward Negroes among white respondents who had worked with Negroes on an equal-status basis; however, two other survey studies reported no significant attitude changes under this condition. (For a review of the above studies on work contact, see Harding, *et al.*, 1969; Hyman, 1969.)

Studies of residential contact between different ethnic groups in noncompetitive, equal-status situations have typically shown substantial favorable changes in attitude following such contact. Deutsch and Collins (1951) studied the impact of different occupancy patterns on interethnic attitudes among a randomly selected group of housewives, matched according to education, religious and political views, who lived in two types of public housing projects. One group lived in an "integrated interracial pattern" (families were assigned without consideration of ethnicity), the other in a "segregated bi-racial pattern" (Negroes and whites lived in the same project but were assigned to different buildings or to different parts of the project). After interviewing 400 white and 100 Negro housewives in these projects, comparisons were made of their responses on various variables that could affect attitudes and behaviors. Deutsch and Collins found that 53 percent of the white housewives living in the integrated projects favored a policy of mixed housing for city housing projects in general, whereas only five percent of the white housewives in the segregated project favored such a policy. The experience of living in the mixed project also seemed to make these housewives more willing to associate with Negroes in work and other activities outside the project, and also more willing to have their children attend school with blacks. Changes in beliefs and feelings were noted as well as the changes in policy orientation toward Negroes; however, these changes appeared to be greater for attitudes toward Negroes in the projects than for Negroes in general. These changes also seemed to generalize substantially to Chinese and slightly to Puerto Ricans, although neither of these groups lived in the projects. From various analyses on the data, the results did not appear to be attributable to differences in education, political views, or religion among those housewives nor did they appear to be a function of attitudes held toward Negroes prior to the experience of living in an ethnically mixed environment.

At least two other studies have reported findings similar to those of Deutsch and Collins. Wilner, et al. (1952) compared white housewives living near Negro families and those living far from Negro families in four public housing projects in four different cities. The differences between their "near" and "far" respondents were similar to those found by Deutsch and Collins for respondents living in integrated and bi-racial projects, respectively, although the differences found by Wilner, et al. were considerably smaller in size. Wilner and his associates attributed the smaller differences to the reduced range of variation in opportunities for contact with Negroes among their subjects, as compared to the opportunities for contact among the respondents studied by Deutsch and Collins.[59] Irish (1952) found that Caucasian residents in Colorado who had had Japanese-American neighbors during World War II were significantly more favorable to Japanese-Americans several years later than were similar residents who had not had Japanese-American neighbors.

Cagle (1971) has more recently applied the equal-status hypothesis to the policy of integrated housing by reassessing and reviewing the findings from several studies of interethnic public housing. He notes that the assessment of the relative level of interethnic intimacy is hindered by measures lacking in clarity and comprehensiveness. Nevertheless, he feels that the data reported suggest that intraethnic and interethnic contacts have not particularly been intimate in these public housing projects.

The Federal government has done a great deal to upgrade the level of housing for low income families. However, in a paper prepared for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Frieden (1967) notes that the decentralized administration of Federally funded projects at the local level has tended to reinforce segregation in many instances. This occurs, for example, when the Federal assistance has been misused to further local development policies. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1971) itself notes that, until recently, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) maintained no uniform policy regarding the collection of "racial and ethnic" data on participation in its programs (p. 92). One might also add that, with the exception of a current OEO research program, there has been no Federal effort to study the effects of selected housing programs on child development.

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[59] In a longitudinal study designed to study the effects of better housing on morbidity and mental health, Wilner and his associates (1962) found statistically lower morbidity rates and better physical and mental health among low income Negro families who had moved into public housing as compared to the control group living in slum housing.

Enough research has been done to demonstrate the fact that the effects of intergroup contact on ethnic attitudes are likely to follow one course of development in situations such as public housing projects or schools, where the character of the interethnic contact can be established and maintained by administrative decision, and quite another course in situations such as private housing, in which continuation of the contact depends, to a large extent, on the attitudes and actions of the participants.

For example, in residential areas that are being "invaded" by Negroes, white residents typically perceive the presence of the newcomers as a serious threat to their own social status. Their attitudes correspondingly become more unfavorable and the majority move to other residential areas. However, among many majority group members, the decision to leave the neighborhood after several minority group families arrive often is determined by a host of factors having little or nothing to do with attitudes toward the minority groups. (For a review of these studies, see Harding, *et al.*, 1969.)

Living together in an equal-status contact situation may also mean different things to different ethnic groups. Hunt (1959) interviewed 46 Negro and 133 white families who had lived together in the same neighborhood for 10 years. Although 65 percent of both ethnic groups reported that they "liked" the neighborhood, only 20 percent of the whites, as compared to 46 percent of the Negroes, favored the mixed-ethnic character of the area. Only three percent of the whites but 65 percent of the blacks regarded the movement of Negroes into the area as "friendly." On the other hand, a study conducted by Rose, et al., in Minneapolis reported general acceptance by white neighbors of isolated Negro families in formerly all white areas (cited in Harding, et al., 1969). Based on interviews with white married women in a Southern town, (Kim, 1970) found that segregated neighborhoods generally showed less prejudice than desegregated neighborhoods. With socio-economic status held constant, Kim also found that a high rate of mobility was related to a high degree of prejudice.

Although the typical urban pattern today is still that of white suburb-black inner city, more and more blacks (and other minority groups) are moving into white areas. Suburbanization, however, does not always herald a basic change in patterns of residential segregation. One finds instead the residential segregation patterns of central cities frequently appearing in the suburbs (Farley, 1970).

Hodgkins and Stakenas (1969) found that the greater the segregation in a given community, the more resentment blacks held toward whites--particularly when the Negroes held favorable self-images. Such a positive self-image is thought to reflect the internalization of aspirations consistent with the norms of white America. As a result, blacks with more positive self-images experience more conflict and view themselves as being in a more competitive position than blacks with less favorable self-images. Whether or not these conjectures are correct remains to be determined. What seems more certain is that most Negroes have long desired at least the material comforts attained by the middle class whites. Blacks have long reported dissatisfaction with life conditions in the ghetto, although Schuman and Gruenberg (1970) report that this dissatisfaction decreases as the percentage of the black population in the city increases--possibly because the city government becomes more responsive to black needs.

Recent studies on urban renewal, in fact, have shown that some blacks have very strong positive feelings about their neighborhoods. (For a review of these studies, see Barresi and Lindquist, 1970.) Although many of these studies have been critical of urban renewal because it generally results in overcrowding of existing ghettos, these studies have not dealt with the attitudes of residents of urban renewal areas to the process of urban renewal itself. Barresi and Lindquist (1970) attempted to fill this research gap by studying the attitudes of urban renewal project residents in Akron, Ohio. To gather such information, they held in-depth interviews with the heads (and/or spouses) of 1,465 household units over a 6-month period. Of these households, 654 were white, 811 black. Overall, the residents of the urban renewal project area tended to have a generally favorable view toward the government and their neighborhood, despite the fact that urban renewal was about to destroy their neighborhood. Ethnicity was not a crucial variable; however, residents were not unanimous in their attitudes. Those who viewed urban renewal favorably tended to be young, relatively well educated, mobile, well paid, fully employed, knowledgeable through the mass media, and capable of independent action. Those who were more negative toward urban renewal represented the obverse side of the coin. They tended to be older, less well educated, tied to the area through home ownership, poorly paid, less capable of independent action, etc. Those who had a positive attitude toward their neighborhood tended to interact with others, both within and outside the neighborhood, and to delay in finding a new place to live. Conversely, those who were negative toward their neighborhood seldom interacted with others, although they had more friends and relatives within than outside the neighborhood. The latter group did not hesitate to find other housing.

Feagin (1966) found that Negroes in Boston who moved to locations in Roxbury were often forced to enter the housing market by urban renewal. In choosing new housing, the factor of increasing social interaction did not appear to play a part. Seventy-two percent of the sample moved simply because they had no choice.

In general, it appears that moving out of the ghetto is a privilege enjoyed primarily by middle class Negroes. It is not certain how many Negroes would prefer to move from their inner city neighborhoods. One study found that urban Negroes in Chicago had very little attachment to their neighborhoods. Only 19 percent of the Negroes contacted regarded their neighborhood as "very good" whereas 62 percent of white repondents gave this reply. Negroes who regarded their neighborhood as "very good" were less militant than those who regarded their neighborhood as "fairly bad" or "very bad." The ratings were based on stated opinions toward a totality of factors in the neighborhood: schools, play facilities, police and fire protection, street cleaning and garbage removal, and

and public transportation (Interuniversity Social Research Committee, 1967). Choldin (1965), however, found that new black migrants to a large city were highly dependent upon their neighborhood and were most likely to stay there.

Housing costs and discriminatory policies are obvious reasons that keep many minority group members in ghetto settings. However, in many areas, it appears the middle class Negroes would be able to move out of ghetto areas. Why they do not always do so was a question studied by Bullough. Her sample included no poor Negroes; all resided in the Los Angeles area. What Bullough found essentially was that feelings of alienation and powerlessness were significantly less among Negroes who moved from ghetto areas. Bullough (1966-67) also found that the childhood experiences most related to lower powerlessness scores were those of integrated school experience and living in an ethnically mixed neighborhood while growing up. She also noted (1968) that segregation in the past was related to present alienation scores. She wrote: "Experience with segregation seems to have long term psychological consequences which can later influence the behavior of the individual as an adult" (1968, p. 183). She adds: "The fact that choosing the integrated way of life in one sphere is related to choosing it in others suggests that any sort of program aimed at decreasing segregation is worthy of trying" (ibid., p. 478).

Contact in School Settings[60]

Twelve years after the 1954 Supreme Court decision to end school segregation, a report commissioned by the U.S. Office of Education amply documented the fact that ethnic isolation of pupils was still the norm in American schools (Coleman, *et al*., 1966). Since the 1966 report, the Federal government has made many efforts to speed up the desegregation process. At this point in time, it can be said that the number of children attending interethnic schools has grown by a very large factor since 1954. On the other hand, the persistence of segregation patterns also has increased the absolute number of children attending segregated schools, given the increase in the child population (see Weinberg, 1970, pp. 7-10). And, even within integrated schools, segregation is frequently the pattern in classrooms and various extra-curricular activities (American Friends Service Committee, 1970).

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[60] This section covers only those studies dealing with public schools and does not include the preschool settings covered in the first section of this report.

In recent years, a vast research literature has appeared on various aspects of school integration. Much of this research has dealt with the effects of integration upon the achievement of minority group children. While this problem is not the focus of this report, it can be said that the evidence is quite strong that desegregation is related to an improvement in the academic achievement of minority group children.[61] In a few cases, integration has not been related to increased academic achievement and, in rare instances, the achievement of Negro children has been found to decline after integration. (For summaries of these studies, see Coleman, *et al*., 1966; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967; McPartland, 1968;

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[61] The evidence for increased achievement under integration conditions is strongest in the case of Negro children since far more research has been done on Negroes than on other minority group children.

Pettigrew, 1969; St. John, 1970; Weinberg, 1970; Armor, 1972.)[62]

Of greater concern to this report is the broad socializing influence which the school has upon children under the conditions of desegregation and integration. Although academic achievement and performance are certainly part of the socializing spectrum, they are assumed both to influence and to be influenced by a number of other variables both within and outside the school setting. These influences include the minority group child himself, his family and peers, the relationship between majority and minority group children in the school setting and in extra-curricular activities; the school staff; and society's efforts to improve the schools.

The Minority Group Child in the Integrated School. There is a vast body of literature dealing with the fact that disadvantaged children--many of whom belong to oppressed minority groups--come to a predominantly white middle class school ill-prepared to compete academically with white middle class children. Even for the minority group child of middle class status, there may be the problem of coping with the prejudice of white peers and teachers upon entrance to an integrated school.

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[62] Research relating to the measurement of the academic achievement of minority group children is subject to many design problems: nonrandom assignment of students to various types of schools; nonrandom selection of communities by various types of parents; nonrandom treatment of students within selected schools; high attrition rates of samples; the need to control for initial school performance; special difficulties in controlling and measuring such variables as social class across different ethnic groups, "Hawthorne effects," "Rosenthal effects," etc., (Pettigrew, 1969). St. John (1970) adds: "One reason there has been no adequate research to date on the effect of integration is that there have been no adequate real-life tests--no large scale, long-run instances of top-quality schooling in segregated minority-group schools." However, correcting as well as possible for many of the inadequacies in these studies, most reanalyses still conclude that minority group students generally perform no worse after integration, and, in most instances perform better (*ibid*.).

Prior to the 1950's, many, though not all, studies found a relationship between the unsuccessful school experience of minority group children and the low aspiration levels and negative self-concepts noted among many of these children. However, after the 1954 Supreme Court decision to end segregation and the accompanying impetus from the civil rights movement for increased integration, scientific opinion began to shift. More and more researchers began to report high aspiration levels and positive self-concepts among minority group children.

It was noted in the previous section that research on the self-concept of minority group children is questionable on a number of grounds, and that the issue of whether or not these children generally have a more positive than negative self-concept remains unresolved. Like other studies on the self-concept of minority group children, those focusing only on self-concept and its relationship to ethnic group mixture have produced somewhat conflicting results.

Although evidence was scant and opinion divided, the supposed psychological damage to minority group children due to segregation was the basis for the Supreme Court decision to end this practice. After 1954, direct empirical evidence on the effects of school segregation on the self-concept of minority group children was slow in appearing; however, reports of opinions, both pro and con, continued to be reported. Using the ethnic identification studies of Goodman (1952) and others, some researchers argued that segregated environments insulated the minority group child from "psychic tensions" and, therefore, fostered a more substantial self-concept. On the other side, several researchers argued that the school climate fostered by segregation was not conducive to the development of a strong self-concept. (For a review of these studies, see Zirkel, 1971.)

It was a report commissioned by the U.S. Office of Education (Coleman, *et al.*, 1966) that seemed to signal the start of a growing body of research evidence on the self-concept of minority group children in desegregated schools. Coleman found a positive relationship between the proportion of Negro high school students in a school and their average self-concept; however, because of differences in achievement he concluded that "the relationship may well be an artifact" (p. 323).

Since the 1966 Coleman report, at least nine studies have found that integration improves the self-concept of minority group children; five have found that minority group children have a more positive self-concept in segregated rather than in integrated school settings; and eight have found no significant differences in self-concepts of minority group children under the two types of settings. (For a review of these studies, see Weinberg, 1970; Zirkel, 1971.)

From these studies it appears that desegregation may sometimes have a depressing effect upon the self-concept of minority group children; however, most often, desegregation has been found either to have no significant effect or to enhance the self-concept of minority group children. Explanations for the discrepancies in research findings on this issue revolve, in part, around the difficulty of disentangling the effects of ethnicity, social class and the desegregation process itself upon self-concept. Nevertheless, by drawing upon the empirical evidence, it is possible to delineate several factors that appear to enhance the self-concept of minority group children in desegregated schools: 1) membership in the middle class (see e.g., Posner, 1969); 2) the support and sympathy of a close-knit minority group family and community; 3) a relatively high proportion of minority group enrollment in segregated schools; 4) friendship with white students; and 5) increased contact between whites and minority groups (see Weinberg, 1970, pp. 119-43).

As in the case of self-concept, the evidence for increased levels of aspiration among minority group children in desegregated schools is somewhat inconclusive. The Ausubels (1963) reviewed the literature prior to the early 1960's on the apsiration levels of disadvantaged Negro children in segregated schools and concluded that the depressed social and personal condition of these children generally led to low academic and vocational aspirations. Between 1962 and 1967, evidence began to accumulate to the effect that Negro children often had high aspiration levels.[63] These findings appeared to characterize the lower class, as well as middle class Negro children, and Negro children in both segregated and desegregated schools. The evidence for high aspiration levels among Spanish-speaking and Indian children are far less encouraging; aspirations among these non-Negro minorities seem to be highly related to social class and degree of acculturation (see Weinberg, 1970, pp. 239-76).

Although the question of whether or not attendance at a desegregated school is related to higher aspiration levels among Negro children cannot be answered conclusively, existing evidence is weighted toward an affirmative answer on this issue.[64] (For a review of these studies, see Weinberg, 1970, pp. 89-119.) The school desegregation process itself, however, cannot account for all the variance noted in the aspiration levels of Negro children.

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[63] A few studies reported high aspiration levels among Negro children in segregated schools prior to the 1960's.

Negro parents, for example, have been found to influence their children's aspirations through their own high aspirations for them (Smith, et al., 1967; Rhodes, 1968). The broader Negro community also appears to exert an influence on Negroes' children's aspiration levels, since Negro children tend to choose vocations that can be practiced directly within the Negro community (Geisel, 1962).

Other factors affecting the Negro child's level of aspiration are his peers and the social composition of his school. Wilson found that school children tend to adopt the aspirations of their peers.[65] Goldblatt and Tyson (1962) found that, without exception, fewer fourth, fifth and sixth grade children chose a professional or semi-professional occupation when they were an ethnic minority rather than majority in the classroom. This tendency was stronger among Negro children than among their Puerto Rican peers.

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[64] A few studies have reported higher aspiration levels among Negro children attending segregated schools, as compared to those attending integrated schools. One such study was conducted by Blake (1960) who concluded that the high aspirations of segregated Negroes were a defense measure whereby the segregated student attempted to maintain his self-esteem. To set a low goal might be interpreted by others as an admission of low self-esteem. And, Blake contends, it is the segregated rather than the desegregated environment which threatens the Negro's self-esteem. Like many other studies in both segregated and integrated environments, Blake found that Negro students have higher aspiration levels than white students.

[65] Wilson viewed the segregation of Negroes in Berkeley schools from the standpoint of constructive group functioning. He felt that the presence of high aspirations among lower class Negroes demonstrated that a "segregated minority can generate and maintain higher hopes than when integrated" (p. 68).

Ability and a high sense of internal control also appear to influence the Negro child's level of aspiration. Gurin and Katz (1966) found that Negroes tended to aspire to more prestigious positions when they had a high level of self-confidence about academic success and a strong belief that they could control their own fate. High ability, as compared to low ability, was found to distinguish high from low aspirers. Socioeconomic status, on the other hand, showed no consistent relationship to aspiration levels. Armor (1969) found that lower class Negro boys of higher ability aspired higher in integrated than in segregated schools; however, the reverse was found to be true for lower class girls who aspired higher in segregated schools.

One rather consistent finding is that Negroes have higher aspiration levels generally than do whites.[66] This extends also to aspirations for attending college. (For a review of these studies, see Weinberg, 1970, pp. 80-119.) Powell (1963) found that three factors influenced a Negro student's decision to seek a college education: 1) college attendance by a sibling; 2) the presence of a counselor in the high school; and, 3) strong maternal approval. The decision was not found to be dependent upon the father's occupation and income.[67]

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[66] A few studies have found no differences between the aspirations of Negro and white children when IQ and socioeconomic status were held constant (see e.g., Gist and Bennett, 1963).

[67] Odell (1965) found that Negro students' aspirations for a higher education were more realistic than one might think. Reviewing the data on Negro and white high school graduates, he found that 40 out of every 200 Negro graduates, whose IQ placed them in the lower half of their high school class, actually entered college; the corresponding figure for white students with equivalent IQ scores was 16.

Two studies have found that Negroes of low socioeconomic status may raise their aspirations for a college education by being in a school environment where college-going is more or less the normal expectation (Wilson, 1960; Cramer, et al., 1966). Wilson found that this relationship held regardless of the quality of the teachers in the school.

Numerous studies have shown that the aspiration levels of Negro students do not always match either their expectations or their later achievements. The evidence suggests that integration may help to reduce the discrepancy between aspiration and expectation and also between aspiration and later achievement. Yet, at this point in time, we do not really know all of the reasons why some Negroes achieve more than others. Fichter (1964) offers one explanation for the high aspirations and high self-confidence noted among Negro college graduates: that is, these graduates often know many Negroes, including family members, who did not "make it." Thus, even more than the average white student, the Negro college graduate has a feeling of accomplishment and of confidence in his own proven ability. "The fact is that he has overcome odds, he has fought successfully, and his self-image may not be quite so unrealistic as it first appears to be" (p. 29).

Some researchers have expressed concern over the adaptive value of the high aspiration levels noted among Negroes in recent years. It was noted in the previous section that a positive correlation has been found between high aspiration levels and emotional and mental illness among educated Northern Negroes who have not achieved according to their expectations. Perhaps we need to stop and ask if our schools, particularly our desegregated schools, are promoting the kind of aspiration levels among minority group children that will help them to make a realistic adaptation in their future life. So far, the evidence on this question is slim. It is, however, encouraging since it suggests that one of the seeming benefits of school desegregation is that it leads many minority group children to more realistic aspirations and expectations (see Weinberg, 1970).

Interethnic Student Associations. It was noted in the first section of this report that elementary school-aged children often segregate themselves by sex membership and that, by the fourth or fifth grade, begin to segregate themselves by ethnic membership (Moreno, 1934; Criswell, 1937, 1939). Such ethnic cleavage seems to continue throughout high school and to characterize youngsters of minority as well as majority groups (Loomis, 1943; Lundberg and Dickson, 1952). Such a selection process also appears to occur among children of different social classes (Hollingshead, 1949).

It can be noted that the above studies are quite dated. The question arises as to whether such cleavage still occurs, especially among children in desegregated schools. The earlier cited studies of Koslin and her colleagues (1969, in Weinberg, 1970) indicated that black children tended to prefer their own group even where they showed a high self-esteem and a high degree of acceptance of whites. Stodolsky and Jensen (1969) found that social interaction across social class within ethnically mixed classrooms increased over time only for middle class children. Although these investigators found that dislike for different ethnic groups increased over time, their results did not suggest that Negro and white children, of either lower or middle class, isolated themselves into cohesive, exclusive groups. Occasional instances of such cleavage were noted but, overall, a large proportion of the classroom social interaction occurred across ethnic and social class lines.

Reviewing the problem further, however, it appears that the studies on the effects of school desegregation on interethnic associations among students have produced conflicting results. Some idea of the differences in findings can be noted by the following brief summaries and tabulations taken from the literature reviews of Carithers (1970) and Weinberg (1970) on interethnic associations following integration:

1) Two studies report that minority group children participate very little in school activities following desegregation; one study reports that Negroes participate as much as whites in school activities in an integrated school; still another reports that Negroes participate actively, but only with their own group.

2) Three studies report that whites become more accepting of Negroes than Negroes become of whites after integration whereas four studies report that Negroes become more accepting of whites than do whites of Negroes.

3) Two studies report no changes in white or black students' attitudes and behaviors toward one another following desegregation.

4) Six studies report that whites experiencing desegregation are more accepting of Negroes than are whites who have not experienced desegregation (especially when socioeconomic status is controlled).

5) Thirteen studies report either more friendliness and/or less prejudice between black and white students following

desegregation (although the association reported is often of an impersonal rather than an intimate nature).[68]

6) Eight studies report that the experience of early integration and/or greater contact leads to greater acceptance of different ethnic groups later in life: one study reports an opposite finding; that is, that early integration does not necessarily lead to greater acceptance of another ethnic group at a later age.

7) Of four studies reporting on the association of sex and interethnic association, all report that both Negro and white boys associate more across ethnic lines than do Negro and white girls; however, several studies report that girls have lower levels of ethnic prejudice than boys.

8) Almost every study on interethnic association at the college level reports that Negro college students feel lonely and isolated on campus, even though white students may reflect more positive attitudes toward Negroes after contact in the college setting.

Most of these studies have involved small samples and are subject to many of the methodological criticisms cited earlier from Pettigrew (1969) and St. John (1970).

An evaluation of the Emergency School Assistance Program, although limited to 14 Southern states, provides evidence on a much larger sample. This program came into being in 1970 to help achieve successful desegregation and to eliminate all forms of discrimination in elementary and secondary schools. The evaluation of ESAP involved interviews with a random sample of over 9,000 Project Directors, principals, teachers and students in 879 Southern schools receiving ESAP services (U.S. Office of Education, 1972).

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[68] Interestingly, one study reported that busing increased interethnic associations among mothers of bussed students.

Perhaps the most significant finding of the evaluation of the ESAP program was the improvement reported in interethnic associations of various types among the students involved in the program in the 1970-71 school year. Sixty-three percent of the teachers questioned reported an improvement in the number of interethnic friendships among students, and slightly over one-half of the teachers reported an improvement in the ability of students of different ethnic groups to work together. (Nearly all of the remaining teachers contacted reported "no change" in these behaviors.) Principals were significantly more positive than teachers in their responses to improvement in friendships and the ability of students to work together. Fully 80 percent of all students interviewed agreed that "students are cooperating more and more as the year goes on" (ibid.).

Although the results were encouraging, the students' responses did reflect ambivalent attitudes. Twenty-seven percent of all students interviewed (33 percent of the black and 23 percent of the white students) said they would rather go to another school; however, only six percent reported that they did not like the school they were presently attending. Overall, serious problems related to school desegregation appeared to be limited to a small minority of the students. Blacks experienced more problems than whites, probably because a higher percentage of black students were experiencing school integration for the first time (50 percent versus only 19 percent for whites). Among students of both ethnic groups, 80 percent expressed the belief they had learned more in the integrated school setting than they had learned in the year prior to desegregation (ibid.).

In addition to the ambivalent feelings reported by the students, only 32 percent of the teachers reported an improvement in the integration of more intimate types of interethnic student associations, such as student groupings on campus and in the cafeterias. All but two of the remaining teachers felt there had been no change in these types of associations during the first year of desegregation (ibid.).

Looking only at the students who were experiencing desegregation for the first time, fully 41 percent reported changes for the better in relation to "going to school with students of another race." Less than five percent felt more negatively toward integration after attending a desegregated school for the first time. The remaining students had not changed their views (many held positive attitudes toward integration prior to the desegregation process). Interestingly, both newly segregated white and black students who rode desegregated school buses reported that they had not expected trouble at the start of the school year. These bussed students became slightly more positive toward interethnic busing near the end of the school year. Interethnic busing, in fact, seemed to have made students slightly more open-minded toward the opposite ethnic group (ibid.).

Given the fact that the ESAP evaluation was conducted in the one section of the country that has reportedly been most prejudiced toward Negroes, the results of school desegregation seem most encouraging. Added to these findings are the majority of those from the smaller sample studies which point either to an increase in interethnic friendships and/or a greater acceptance of different ethnic groups over time as a result of integration. However, far more research is needed if we are to understand the relationship between desegregation and interethnic attitudes and behaviors.

In summary, it appears that the school experience of minority group children under conditions of desegregation is dependent upon many factors. These include organismic factors such as age, sex and IQ; motivational factors such as self-concept and level of aspiration; and interethnic friendship patterns within the school setting. All of these are affected by the child's family, community and peers. The role of the school in this process remains to be examined.

Before turning to the role of the school in the desegregation process, it should be noted that NICHD is currently conducting a longitudinal study to examine the antecedents, concomitants and consequences of successful integration of Negro, Mexican-American and white children in the elementary grades of the public school system. Assessment is being made of both short term and long term effects of desegregation. The major indices of success are considered to be emotional adjustment and academic achievement. The study is focused on three dependent measures: characteristics of the child, his parents and the school. Altogether, nearly 1,800 children are involved in the study; approximately half are minority group members, the remainder are white. The children are being studied in a seven year natural time series experiment consisting of a pre-measure and six successive post-measures. Selected matched control groups will provide baselines for evaluating the effects of community sensitization, repeated testing of the sample, and general social-cultural changes occurring over the time span of the study. The basic research strategy is extensive multiple measures of all variables:

achievement, personality, and adjustment of the child, parental values and attitudes, and school and teacher characteristics.

School Staff. Reference has already been made to several studies dealing with teachers' attitudes toward minority group children under conditions of desegregation. It was noted that many white teachers favor desegregation but that many others experience difficulty in accepting and dealing with minority group children in their classrooms. How negative attitudes and punitive behaviors on the part of teachers affect the minority group child's school performance, self-concept, aspirations and interethnic relationships is not well understood; however, there is some evidence that negative attitudes and punitive behaviors on the part of teachers tend to increase interethnic tensions in the schools (Chesler and Segal, 1967; Barber, 1968).

One study indicates that positive attitudes and actions toward minority group children on the part of teachers contribute to the school performance of children. Mahan found that students from Hartford who were bussed and received staff support in their new schools showed greater gains than those who did not receive such support (cited in St. John, 1970).

A study commissioned by the U.S. Office of Education, which was mentioned earlier, reached several conclusions on the importance of teachers' influence in understanding achievement differentials between schools and students. Perhaps the most significant of these was the following:

> The apparent effect of average teacher characteristics for children in a given group is directly related to the 'sensitivity' of the group to the school environment . . . Good teachers matter more for children from minority groups which have educationally deficient backgrounds. It suggests as well that for any group whether minority or not, the

> effect of good teachers is greatest upon the children who suffer most educational disadvantage in their background and that a given investment in upgrading teacher quality will have most effect on achievement in underprivileged areas (Coleman, 1967, p. 317).

Attempts to improve teacher education and training in ways that will improve the academic achievement of minority group children are being made across the nation. In addition, the U. S. Office of Education is supporting a number of Desegregation Institutes and Desegregation Centers to help school staff deal with the problems of desegregation. Funded from 1967-1972 under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, and administered under the Division of Equal Educational Opportunities, Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Schools (BESE), U. S. Office of Education, the Desegregation Institutes have provided human relations type training for teachers inexperienced and having problems in desegregation. The Desegregation Centers, funded and administered through the same channels as the Desegregation Institutes, have provided technical assistance to school systems needing help in desegregation. These university-based Centers have often provided assistance in developing student assignment plans, new curriculum and other types of plans requested by school officials. Most of the 17 Desegregation Centers have been located in the South. According to BESE officials, a large number of evaluations have shown the Desegregation Centers to be one of the most effective instruments in achieving desegregation. Less evaluation has been done on the effectiveness of the Desegregation Institutes; however, an annotated bibliography published by the ERIC Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged indicates that these Institutes, in general, have been considered effective in helping school personnel deal with and understand the complex human factors involved in bringing together children of different ethnic groups (Jayatilleke, 1971). Both the Desegregation Centers and the Desegregation Institutes are expected to be funded in the future through the Emergency School Aid Act.

The Emergency Assistance School Program described earlier also attempted to aid school personnel to achieve successful desegregation. One aspect of this aid was teacher training. However, the evaluation of the ESAP program mentioned above indicated that this aspect of the ESAP program was not successful in contributing to improvements in the ethnic climate of the school. In fact, the ethnic climate of schools showed more improvement in schools that did not have ESAP teacher training than in schools that did. Also, higher intensity of expenditures for teacher training was associated with stronger negative effects on the ethnic climate of the school. That is, not only was the teacher training ineffective, but the greater the expenditures for teacher training, the worse the results (U.S. Office of Education, 1972).

However, four activities that were highly dependent upon school staff were found to be significantly effective in improving the ethnic climate of the school. One such activity involved remedial education programs. Another revolved around such student programs as club or committee support, special assemblies or trips, classes or discussion groups, student tutors, band, recreation programs and newspapers. The remaining programs involved counseling and counseling support. Counseling activities generally were conducted by a guidance counselor but occasionally by other types of counselors. Counseling support included counselor aides, nurse/attendance officers, coordinator-disciplinarians and consultants, as well as testing, psychological supports, buildings and materials. The greater the ESAP expenditures per student for counseling programs, the more positive the ethnic climate of the school. The remedial student and counseling programs gained in effectiveness the longer they operated. However, these four effective programs accounted for only 23 percent of all ESAP activities (ibid.).[69]

One program--Alaskan Readers, Northwest Regional Laboratory--has been designed to meet the special needs of minority groups in intercultural educational settings. Funded by the National Center for Educational Research and Development, OE, this program focuses particularly on those students who are experiencing a conflict between their own group values and expectations and the values and expectations of the school. Under the general purview of this goal, several program components are now underway or in the planning stages. One program component is focused on the remediation of reading and language disabilities among Alaskan primary-grade children in isolated schools. The Laboratory hopes to extend this program to include children and youth in inner city schools. Another program component, Social and Human Development Curriculum for Youth, is intended to provide high school youth with the skills for working out legitimate solutions to educational problems with adults and other students.

Other Factors Affecting School Desegregation. Numerous factors other than the school staffs' and students' attitudes and behaviors have been found to affect the success or failure of the school desegregation process.

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[69] Several ESAP activities appeared to have little or no effect upon the ethnic climate of the school. These included personal community activities, non-personal community activities, ethnic classes and materials, non-ethnic classes and materials, teacher aides and other support personnel, facilities improvement, etc.

Among these influences are such factors as the proportion of minority groups in a given community, the quality of the administrative policies toward desegregation, the power structure of a community and the educational level of individuals making policy decisions.

Pettigrew and Cramer (1959) studied demographic factors related to the speed of school desegregation and concluded that the major factor involved was the proportion of Negroes in the population. The smaller the proportion of Negroes in the population, the sooner the school district was likely to desegregate. At the time of this study, public schools in the South were entirely controlled by white school boards and Negroes had no voice in the selection of school board members. It is reasonable to interpret the findings of Pettigrew and Cramer as resulting from realistic expectations on the part of the white authorities concerning the extent to which admission of Negroes would change the existing pattern of political and economic power in the community.

Dwyer (1958) studied school desegregation in seven Southern communities through interviews, observations and questionnaires administered to teachers and pupils. He found that opposition to school integration was minimized when administrative policies were clear, definite and firm whereas vacillation led to opposition and possible conflict. Intergroup contact was found to be enhanced when administrators held favorable attitudes toward integration. Hostile attitudes on the part of administrators, on the other hand, led to minimum contact and limited involvement of Negro children in school activities. Dwyer also found that younger children tended to involve themselves in informal relationships and to adjust more readily to the integration process than did older children.

Williams and Ryan (1954) made a series of case studies of desegregated communities. They found that, in the presence of weak opposition or nonpolarized attitudes, the local school board and local officials played the most significant role in the desegregation process. They also found that prior discussion of the desegregation issue led either to the facilitation of the transition or to the mobilization of opposing groups. The reaction of a particular community, they felt, could be diagnosed by taking into account such factors as the number and proportion of Negroes, the presence of other minority groups, the extent and nature of segregation, the activity of related organizations, the organization and financing of the school system, the level of communication between school board and citizens, the status and qualifications of Negro and white teachers, the local attitudes toward schools, the practices of state agencies and the role of local groups. Following desegregation, they found that good interpersonal relations generally developed within the school but that ethnic cleavage occurred outside the school. Interestingly, nothing in the Williams and Ryan report anticipated the significant incidence of violence associated with desegregation during the late 1950's and the 1960's.

Clark (1953) reviewed experiences with desegregation up to the early 1950's and concluded that desegregation resulting from litigation was as effective as desegregation resulting from other methods. However, Clark felt that immediate rather than gradual desegregation reduced obstacles to peaceful transition and decreased the likelihood of resistance. He found resistance to be associated with ambiguous or inconsistent policies, ineffective action, and conflict between competing authorities. He believed efficient desegregation to be dependent upon the unequivocality of prestige leaders, the firm enforcement of changed policy, the willingness to deal with violations, the refusal of those in authority to tolerate subterfuges and the readiness to appeal to morality and justice.

Tumin, *et al*. (1958), found that actions taken by white Southern males to prevent or deter desegregation showed little if any relationship to stated attitudes. The best predictor of action was number of years of formal education: the more education, the less the likelihood of action designed to block desegregation.

Ongoing Educational Intervention and Research Programs. A number of other Federal programs have been designed to enhance the school experience of disadvantaged and minority group children. Some of these projects have been designed for preschool children in an attempt to compensate for early deficiencies thought to hinder the later achievement and social behavior of disadvantaged children. Since most of these programs have focused primarily on cognitive functioning and intellectual gains and only secondarily, if at all, on those aspects of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors that are of main concern to this report, only a brief summary of some of these programs is given here.

A noteworthy feature of planning for the educational needs of disadvantaged children is the stress which several agencies have placed on the importance of beginning intervention very early in life. The Office of Child Development (OCD), the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), OEO and OE have all sponsored infant education programs. (For a review of some of these programs, see Grotberg, 1969; Segal, 1971.)

These same agencies are also supporting many programs for preschool children. One program supported by NIMH during the late 1960's was a cross-cultural or multi-cultural nursery school in San Francisco. This school was specifically designed to promote positive interfamily, inter-ethnic relations and to combat one major mental health problem--racism. In addition, the program focused on improving the cognitive functioning of the children and the ability of mothers and staff to promote the healthy development of children. Evaluations of this program indicated that it succeeded on all counts. Originally known as Nurseries in Cross-Cultural Education (NICE), the program is currently known as the Cross-Cultural Family Center and is being supported by non-Federal funds (Yahraes, 1971a).

Another NIMH supported program for disadvantaged young children is the Good Samaritan Center in San Antonio. The major foci of this program are the teaching of English to preschool children of Mexican descent and the development of instructional manuals for training teachers. The program also teaches perceptual-motor skills and trains parents to aid their children in language development. Comparisons with a control group not receiving the instruction indicate that the experimental children have made marked gains in language skills (Yahraes, 1971b).

Improving the language skills of children is also the focus of the Bilingual Education Program Branch of OE. Now in its fourth year, this branch is currently supporting 163 programs in 15 languages for children, ages 3 to 18, who have limited English-speaking ability (Follow-up Report. 1970 White House Conference on Children, 1971).

Perhaps the best known program for preschool disadvantaged children is Project Head Start. Originally funded by OEO, and currently under the auspices of OCD, Head Start has offered a wide range of programs for disadvantaged children. Research supported through Head Start funds has focused not only on cognitive functioning and intellectual gains but also on socio-emotional development, involvement of parents and the community, improving the skills of teachers, and other aspects considered important to improving the development of children enrolled in Head Start. Some of the research on Head Start is presented in various sections of this report. A more complete review of Head Start research may be found in Grotberg (1969). One current research project is analyzing the effects of social class mixture on advantaged children and rural disadvantaged children attending Head Start Centers.

Because early research indicated that Head Start children often lost the gains won in their preschool experience, the Federal government instituted the Follow Through program. Currently administered under OE's Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Schools, Follow Through provides Head Start children with comprehensive services continuing through the third grade. The services are based on a strategy of "planned variation" in approaches and was originally designed to yield information about the relative efficacy of a variety of different approaches for educating young children from poverty families and for promoting among them a more positive attitude toward school. Preliminary evaluations of the Follow Through program suggest that it is accomplishing some of its intended objectives. Of interest to this report is the evidence suggesting that Follow Through children manifest positive shifts in attitudes toward school and learning which are larger than the shifts noted in comparison group children. Parents of Follow Through children are also better informed about their children's school program, more likely to visit school, to work in classrooms and talk to teachers, and more convinced of their ability to affect school programs than parents of comparison children. Follow Through teachers appear to place a higher value on parents' direct participation and to show markedly greater satisfaction with the progress of their students than do non-Follow Through teachers (Stanford Research Institute, 1971).

Changes in Group Membership

As a result of the efforts described above to end desegregation, many American children find themselves in settings of changing group membership.

As was noted in the previous section, the various social groups in which an individual finds membership appear to be one of the most powerful determinants of an individual's attitudes toward other individuals and groups. One might expect, therefore, that an individual will have a strong tendency to change his own attitudes and behaviors when he finds himself in a new group whose standards differ markedly from his own. Such a phenomenon does seem to occur, but only under certain conditions.

One study, for example, found that Northern college students adopted the attitudes of Southern college students when they attended Southern colleges; however, the degree to which they did so depended upon the duration of residence in the Southern college. Northern freshmen attending a Southern college had attitudes toward Negroes only slightly less favorable than Northern freshmen attending Northern colleges; their junior and senior counterparts, on the other hand, had shifted their attitudes all the way to the position of their Southern classmates (Sims and Patrick, 1936). Eddy (1964) found that attitudes among Southern born white students attending a Northern college shifted postively from freshmen to senior years, but primarily with respect to the integrated use of public facilities. Border-state students shifted their attitudes in a positive direction according to the degree of interethnic extracurricular contact and the regional origin of their close friends.

Using an intensive interviewing process, Watson (1950) found that 45 New York City residents reported marked changes in attitudes toward Negroes and Jews at some point in their lives. About half of the interviewees reported that the change in their attitudes had been preceded by their entry into a new institutionalized group whose standards were different from those they held previously. The experiences most often reported under this heading were taking one's first job, going to college and entering the armed forces.

A considerable additional number of respondents associated their changes in attitude with a change in geographical residence which, consequently, resulted in a variety of new group memberships. About four-fifths of these respondents associated their attitude change with some new personal contact with members of the group toward whom the revision of attitudes occurred. Of the 23 respondents who had had new contacts with Negroes or Jews of status at least equal to their own, 21 percent had changed their attitude in a favorable direction. Of 14 respondents who had had new contacts with the Jews and Negroes of lower status positions, only four had become more favorable while ten had become less favorable toward these minority groups (ibid.). Gundlach (1950) studied a group of white female factory workers who were from the same social class as the white housewives in the nonsegregated housing projects studied by Deutsch and Collins (1951). These workers also had had about the same amount of contact with Negroes as the white housewives in the Deutsch and Collins sample. The factory workers, however, were significantly less prejudiced toward Negroes than the white housewives to whom they were compared. The explanation seemed to lie in the fact that female factory workers belonged to a left-wing union with a militant anti-discrimination policy; however, it should be noted that Gundlach's subjects had no option about joining the union or about which union to join.

A change in group membership, however, does not always result in a change in attitudes. Pearlin (1954) found that the presence of white Southern students on an integrated campus did not in itself lead to changes in attitudes toward Negroes, but that change of this kind depended upon a strong identification with college values and a parallel reduction in identification with home values.

Many studies cited elsewhere in this report point to changes in group membership; however, the subsequent changes that occur in intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors are neither clear nor predictable. The difference noted in attitudinal and behavioral change are quite likely a function of many different factors. One may be the internalization of the values of a different group and an accompanying weakening of formerly held values, as noted. The proportion of majority to minority persons within the group is probably another decisive influence. Status, personality functioning and other determinants of intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors are also likely to exert their influence whenever a person changes group membership. At this point in time, we do not understand the interrelationships of the various factors that influence inter- and intra-group membership. Yet, if public programs are to be designed with the goal of promoting harmonious relationships between children of different social class and ethnic groups and if, as is normal practice, children have little choice in finding themselves a member of a new group within these programs, it is quite obvious that we need to gain more knowledge so that we do understand group behavior.

Propaganda, Informational and Educational Approaches to Changing Intergroup and Intragroup Attitudes and Behaviors

It has long been thought that attitudes toward and contact between and among different groups can be enhanced by propaganda, informational and educational approaches.[70] To accomplish such attitudinal and behavioral changes, social scientists, educators, political leaders and others have used a variety of communication devices to bring about such change.

The use of various forms of communication media to change inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors appears to be a highly complex undertaking. We know from various studies using communication devices to effect opinion change that the process is dependent upon many factors. Some of these factors are related to the communication media themselves;

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[70] As the reader will note, propaganda, information and educational approaches to attitude change are often not well distinguished. The classification of the material in this section generally follows the designation given by the original researcher. Where the designation is not provided by the original researcher, the fictional or hypothetical material is placed under propaganda approaches; more realistic information presented within a short time span is placed under informational approaches; and, material presented in curricular form is placed under educational approaches. However, the classification of this writer is arbitrary and not necessarily that which would be chosen by the original researcher.

others are related to the communicator who may present the media; still others are related to various characteristics of the target of opinion change, including those characteristics related to group membership. Since most of the studies dealing with these phenomena have not been conducted with children and have not dealt directly with ethnic and social class attitudes and behaviors, they are not discussed in detail here. However, since such studies are relevant to any undertaking involving the use of the communication media to bring about opinion change, a summary of research related to listener, communicator and media effects is appended to Part I of this report.[71] In this section, the presentation is limited to research on communication approaches designed to change ethnic and social class attitudes and behaviors.[72]

Propaganda and Attitude Change

Most research on the use of communication media as propaganda techniques for altering ethnic attitudes is quite dated; that for social class attitudes appears to be virtually non-existent. The media most studied as a propaganda technique for altering ethnic attitudes is the motion picture. Early studies using films to change ethnic attitudes generally reported some change in attitudes in the direction desired.

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[71] The material in Appendix I is taken from the work of the Yale Communication Research Program. Further studies on communication and attitude change may be found in Kiesler, et al., (1969).

[72] The literature on the use of the mass media for attitude change is quite extensive and thus is beyond the scope of this report. Some of these writings deal with the implications of communication techniques for the lessening of intergroup conflict. However, these are quite dated and the interested reader is referred to Williams (1947) and Klineberg (1950). Many more of the studies, reviews, monographs and books in this field provide general information conceivably relevant for a wide variety of purposes. Some of this material is presented in Appendix I, Part I.

In a few instances, the amount of attitude change was rather small; in most, the extent of change was quite large and, in one case, was shown to persist over a long time. The differences in the persuasive power of films have been attributed to audience factors (e.g., age and sophistication) and to the persuasive attributes of the films themselves. One study found that a "general" film on prejudice had no effect upon the viewers; however, a second film that involved realistic enactment of a social situation produced significant reduction in prejudice in four of the seven college student groups tested. (For a review of these studies, see Harding, _et_ _al_., 1969.)

In a more recent study of films as a propaganda technique, Kraus (1960) compared various ethnic versions of a movie in an attempt to change the attitudes of eleventh-grade white children toward the Negro. The films dealt with the efforts of two high school teachers to get a Negro student into college. The versions differed only in presenting the teachers as both white, both Negro, or white and Negro. Significantly, more favorable attitudes toward Negroes were noted only after the "biracial" version of the film.

There is also evidence that group viewing may counteract the effects of a communication if there is a split in opinion among the members of a group and if highly prejudiced members are allowed to discuss the issue. Discussion of a communication particularly lowers its effectiveness if the groups exposed to the communication are solidly antagonistic toward it. These phenomena were shown by Mitnick and McGinnies (1958) in their study of the effects of a film on ethnic tolerance among high school students. Some of the groups consisted solely of highly prejudiced students, other of students low in prejudice. One half of all the groups were shown the film without opportunity for discussion; the other half were permitted to discuss the film. The results indicated that the film significantly reduced prejudice in highly prejudiced subjects who viewed the film without discussing it. However, the effects of the communication were much smaller among the students who discussed the film, indicating that discussion tended to counteract the effect of the film. An examination of the transcripts of the discussions showed that the highly prejudiced subjects spent most of their time expressing their antipathies toward Negroes. The low prejudice group, on the other hand, showed more change in the "film-discussion" condition than in the "film-alone" condition. The transcripts showed that the low prejudice students spent their discussion time in examining the general problem of group prejudice that had been raised by the film. In the case of the low prejudice group, therefore, there was a tendency for discussion to reinforce the effects of the film.

Myers and Bishop (1970) recently studied the effects of discussion on ethnic attitudes. These investigators, however, allowed experimental groups to make individual attitude judgments, discuss them and remake judgments before presenting material designed to produce attitude change. In comparison to control groups not participating in discussion groups, the experimental groups did not show much attitude change. As predicted, discussion of ethnic attitudes with others having similar attitudes before being exposed to a communication significantly increased the gap in prejudice between high- and low-prejudiced subjects.

The effects upon ethnic attitudes of other propaganda techniques--lectures, broadcasts, stories, etc.--have not received much research attention in recent years. From a brief summary presented by Harding, et al. (1969), it appears that early studies on the effects of stories and mail propaganda on ethnic attitudes produced no consistent results. The propaganda lecture appears to be effective, but less so than motion pictures. Comparisons of television with other media have not been reported.

What seems apparent from the various studies of propaganda techniques and their relation to changing ethnic attitudes is that face-to-face presentations are generally more effective than written, pictorial or radio presentations (see Harding, et al., 1969).

In any propaganda communication, numerous factors may affect the impact which the communication has upon the audience (see Appendix I-Part I). In considering the form and content of the information to be presented, the work of Helen Peak and her students suggests one important principle for the propagandist to consider: A communication that induces new beliefs about the instrumental or means attributes of an object will be more effective than a communication that does not suggest these attributes (see Krech, et al., 1962, p. 238). A study by Carlson (1956) illustrates how attitudinal changes may be brought about by introducing instrumental relations between the attitude object and the goal. In this investigation, Carlson attempted to change attitudes toward the housing integration of Negroes by presenting experimental subjects with persuasive arguments that "allowing Negroes to move into white neighborhoods" would be a means of attaining four important goals: American prestige in other countries; protection of property values; equal opportunity for personal development; and becoming more experienced, broad-minded and worldly-wise. The arguments proved to be effective. As compared with control subjects who did not hear these arguments, a significant proportion of the experimental subjects changed their attitudes toward the instrumental value of Negro housing integration for realizing the four goals mentioned in the presentation. Moreover, the experimental subjects became significantly more favorable toward integrated housing than did control subjects. However, the relation between initial attitude and amount of attitude change was found to be curvilinear. The subjects whose initial attitudes toward housing integration were quite moderate changed significantly whereas extremely prejudiced and nonprejudiced subjects did not change systematically. The smaller proportion of positive attitude changes noted among the nonprejudiced subjects can probably be explained by the fact that they were initially favorable toward integrated housing and hence did not have room to move toward a more positive attitude. The failure of the extremely prejudiced subjects to change their attitudes is a somewhat familiar finding and may reflect the fact that extreme attitudes are difficult to change.

Informational Approaches

Very little research appears to have been done on the use of informational appeals to change ethnic and social class attitudes. The most relevant work along this line was an experiment by McClintock (1958) which was part of a series of interrelated studies dealing with several hypotheses set forth by Katz in his functional theory of attitude change. (For a brief discussion of Katz's theory, see Kiesler, *et al.*, 1969, pp. 315-326.) That part of Katz's theory most relevant to the McClintock study is related to the earlier mentioned work by Adorno, *et al.* (1950) entitled *The Authoritarian Personality*. It will be remembered that Adorno, *et al.*, suggested that prejudice could be based either on conformity to social norms or on the dynamics of ego-defense. As these authors suggested, and as Katz has spelled out, the most effective techniques of attitude change are not likely to be the same for both ego-defensive prejudice and prejudice based on conformity to social norms. In particular, it was hypothesized that therapeutic techniques such as catharsis and insight are likely to be effective against prejudice based on ego-defense but ineffective against prejudice serving other psychological functions. And, "reality oriented" techniques, such as threat or promise of social approval, should be ineffective against prejudiced attitudes related to the dynamics of ego-defense but relatively effective against prejudice based on social conformity.

To test these hypotheses, McClintock (1958) obtained measures of personality predispositions to conformity and ego-defensiveness (as measured by the California F scale) from a sample of college students and then administered to the sample three types of persuasive communications. One type of communication was an "informational message" which used the cultural relativism argument to introduce information that should lead to less prejudice. The second type of appeal was an "interpretational message," that is, a case study and subsequent analysis designed to cast light on the unhealthy personality dynamics which can lead to prejudice. The third appeal was an "ethnocentric message" that implied the subjects should become more prejudiced. It was hypothesized that subjects whose prejudice was based on ego-defense would show the most attitude change in response to the "interpretational message."

McClintock's post-test results indicated that, among subjects who read the antiprejudice "informational message," those who were "high" and "medium" on conformity showed significantly more positive attitude change (i.e., less prejudice) than those "low" in conformity. (The percentages for the "high," "medium" and "low" groups were 67 percent, 55 percent and 29 percent respectively.) However, the informational appeal was equally effective for subjects "low," "medium" and "high" in ego-defensiveness (the percentage of positive change for each of these groups was in the 40 percent range). On the other hand, the degree of ego-defensiveness among subjects who received the "interpretational message" did make a significant difference in the amount of attitude change expressed. Positive attitude change in response to the interpretational appeal was noted for 75 percent of the "low" ego-defense group, 95 percent of the "medium" ego-defense group and 53 percent of the "high" ego-defense group. Differences among the three conformity groups in response to the interpretational appeal were not significant; however, this message produced positive change in 82 percent of the "low" conformity group, 57 percent of the "medium" conformity group and 73 percent of the "high" conformity group. Thus, these data indicate that degree of conformity makes a difference for an informational, authoritative type of appeal but not for an interpretational appeal whereas degree of ego-defensiveness makes a difference for interpretational appeal but not for informational appeals. The findings have lent support to the idea that prejudicial attitudes can stem from defenses that are part of the personality system. Further support for the role of ego-defense in prejudice was provided by the fact that, although highly defensive subjects generally showed less attitude change than other groups in response to an antiprejudice appeal, they showed the most attitude change to the ethnocentric appeal. In relation to the findings on "high" ego-defensive subjects' responses to interpretational and informational appeals, Katz suggests that the defenses of highly defensive people are so rigid and well prepared that they readily reject any attack on these defenses no matter how powerfulor subtle (see Kiesler, et al., 1969, p. 320).

When one compares the results obtained from the use of the informational and interpretational appeals, however, it appears that the interpretational appeal was, to varying degrees, more effective in bringing about positive ethnic attitudes among all groups than was the informational appeal.

Educational Approaches

One of the most popular educational approaches to attitude and behavioral change involves the introduction into the curriculum of material dealing with the history, culture and personal characteristics of different people.

A case in point is the teaching of material on Negro life and history. Georgeoff (1968) tested the effects of such a social studies unit on Negro and white fourth graders in 26 integrated classes in Gary, Indiana. Subjects were matched on IQ, socioeconomic status, ethnicity and achievement. The chief finding was that the self-concept scores of both white and Negro students using the new unit were significantly higher. Self-concepts were particularly enhanced among those students who attended schools in areas characterized by integrated housing.

Sussman and Thompson (1971) also studied the effects of cultural information upon fourth grade students in Chicago. Their sample involved 60 "low performing" and 31 "high performing" students from an inner city area.[73] All 91 children were given pre-tests designed to test their attitudes about several minority groups. Thirty subjects were then assigned to an experimental group, 30 to a control group. The experimental group, unlike the control group, was given a two-week training period that included the presentation of historical and cultural information about several minority groups. During the two weeks of treatment, the experimental group received 30 minutes of training each school day. After the two-week period, both the experimental and control group were given a post-test. Statistical analysis revealed that prejudice among these children varied inversely with intelligence, that the treatment program decreased the prejudice of the experimental group, that minority group children showed a prejudice toward themselves, and that the feelings minority group children have about themselves were positively affected by the treatment program.

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[73] IQ scores and third grade performance on the Metropolitan Reading Test were used to group subjects into the "high" and "low" groups.

Roth (1969) studied the effects of a black studies curriculum and of integration on fifth grade students in Pontiac, Michigan, in the fall of 1968. He found that maximum results came from teaching black studies in an integrated setting. Negro children involved in this combination (i.e., learning black studies in an integrated setting) increased their sense of black pride without--as Roth puts it--"a hate whitey" tone.

The teaching of Indian culture and history has also been shown to have a positive effect on both the self-concept of Indian children and the attitudes which non-Indian children hold toward Indians. Using various pre- and post-tests (a semantic differential, an attitude scale and a series of open sentence items), Pecoraro (1970) found that emphasizing the positive but little known contributions of Indians to our art, cultural heritage and contemporary society resulted in very positive changes in children's self-concepts and intergroup attitudes. The material was presented by several media--8 mm color and sound film, slide-tape presentations, some commercial material and stress involvement on the part of the students.

Fisher (1965) found that reading selected materials presenting the Indians in a positive light plus discussion of the material resulted in a significant positive attitude change toward Indians among fifth grade students in Berkeley.

Not all studies using such educational approaches have reported successful outcomes. Kleg (1970) studied the effects of teaching an anthropological-sociological unit upon the ethnic, social class, caste and religious attitudes of high school students in eight classes in three Southern schools. One school was a black inner city school, one a white inner city school, the other a white suburban school. Three teachers each taught one control and one experimental class. The experimental subjects, unlike the control subjects, were presented with knowledge generated by research in the behavioral sciences. The material dealt with ethnic and social class characteristics and prejudice. The students were given pre-tests, immediate post-tests and delayed post-tests consisting of a cognitive test based on the curriculum unit, Remmers' Attitude Test and a social distance scale. The results of these tests were mixed but gave little support to the hypothesis that increased knowledge about ethnic and social groups reduces negative attitudes between such groups.

Rosser, et al. (1971) evaluated the impact of an experimental black studies course on the attitudes of black college students toward education, the "system," whites and black studies. Attitude information was gathered by means of pre- and post-questionnaires administered approximately before and after a twelve-week interval. The results indicated little change with respect to the attitudes assessed by the open-ended questionnaire.

The differences in findings related to the introduction of black studies and similar curricular materials are not well understood. Some of the differences may be attributable to differences in the actual curriculum materials, others to variations in teachers' presentations of the materials. It is also possible that the differences obtained in the various studies may be a function of age since, as can be noted, the more positive results were obtained with younger children, the more negative with either high school or college-aged youth.

A few other educational approaches to attitude change are noteworthy. Handler (1966), for example, found that somewhat positive attitude changes toward Negroes occurred with the use of deliberate instruction designed to help children define persons less in terms of "racial features" than they had done in the past. Her subjects were an interethnic kindergarten group of 33 experimental and 26 control children who lived in a suburban area. Both white and Negro children in the experimental group showed more positive attitudes toward Negroes after the intervention; however, white children tended to continue to equate "skin color" with cleanliness after all intervening experiences. (Negro children as a total group related cleanliness to bathing and not to skin color.) The more positive effects of the intervention were in contrast to the non-intervention results obtained from control children who actually "retrogressed" in their attitudes toward Negroes.

Hyman (1969) cites a number of studies which indicate that ethnic attitudes may be modified by requiring subjects to differentiate a particular group in various ways. Among the factors inducing more favorable attitudes and/or a reduction in social distance are differentiation of the minority group by social class, intelligence, occupational position, status, etc.

In general, it has been the differentiation of all those factors associated with middle and upper class groups (e.g., higher intelligence scores, higher occupational levels, higher education, etc.) that has been found to produce more favorable attitudes and to reduce social distance; however, the changes in this direction have sometimes been less marked for Negroes than for other groups. In addition, some of these studies have found that the more favorable attitudes and decreased social distance were more marked among higher than lower status groups.

Although it was not designed mainly to change ethnic attitudes, the television show, Sesame Street, which is produced for an interethnic audience, has been shown to produce more favorable attitudes toward different ethnic groups among the home viewers of the show (see Searcy and Chapman, 1972).[74]

In reviewing the various approaches to producing inter- and intragroup attitudinal and behavioral change, it is evident that we do not as yet know all the complex factors involved in achieving the goal of positive change. It seems apparent that success in achieving harmonious relations between and among groups lies partly in the efforts expended by our social institutions. However, the most sophisticated intervention strategy, backed by all the necessary financial expenditures, will probably meet with limited success unless individual citizens strive to effect the desired change. Perhaps one of the most profound findings on changes in interethnic attitudes comes from the study by Graham (1967). What Graham found essentially was that college students who had the most positive interethnic attitudes were those "who had taken time to understand one another as persons" (p. 26).

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[74] The role of television as a socializing agent in the development of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors has not been well studied. Content analysis studies have shown that television programs feature mainly upper and middle class characters; accord more respect to members of European immigrant groups than to members of other minority classes; portray occupations in stereotyped ways; and focus on atypical, dramatic or deviant aspects of many occupations. Also, foreign and non-white television characters commit more television violence than do white American characters (see Searcy and Chapman, 1972). However, monitoring studies on television conducted at various points during the 1960's show an increase in the number of Negroes appearing on television shows and a decrease in stereotyped characterizations of minority groups (Plotkin, 1967). While it seems highly likely that television characterizations of minority groups do influence children in some ways, systematic research is needed to determine the kinds and extent of influence exerted by this media on children's inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

The problem of how to bring about harmonious relations between and among different ethnic and social class groups has long preoccupied many Americans. Few of us need to be reminded that we have yet to actualize our creed of equality. "The American dilemma" which Myrdal (1944) characterized so aptly several decades ago has now evolved into an American crisis. Unless the means are found to change current attitudes and behaviors, polarization between and among different groups may be an even more common way of life for Americans in the future than it is today. What this may mean for tomorrow's black, chicano, Indian and other minority group children is less certain, since we have preoccupied ourselves very little with the psychological costs of prejudice and self-isolation among the more "advantaged."

One purpose of this report was to review the research on intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors to determine some of the ways in which we might achieve a successful ethnic and social class mix among children in our various public institutions. Based on the research summarized in this report, the evidence does not appear to permit a prescription of any single formula for achieving such a desirable mix. Somewhat successful outcomes from various programmatic efforts to achieve desegregation and integration have been reported. Similarly, there is empirical evidence indicating that more favorable inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors can be achieved under some conditions as compared to certain other conditions. But, just as some efforts have met with success, so others have met with failure. At best, one could only tentatively suggest conditions under which inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors might be changed to create more harmonious relations between and among different groups. Such suggestions are made in the discussion which follows, together with what appear to be implications for future research.

It was noted in this report that there seems to be a tendency for human beings to differentiate themselves from others and to differentiate the group to which they belong from other groups. Most social scientists believe that this tendency is learned, multicausally determined and need-fulfilling to the individual. Some psychoanalytically-oriented investigators, on the other hand, believe that the tendency to differentiate one's self from others is partly instinctual in that it is based on the infant's fear of strangers. Given the universality of ingroup versus outgroup thinking, and the great likelihood that an instinctual tendency would reinforce the learning of ethnic and social class prejudice, *it may be highly fruitful for research to re-examine the issue of whether or not prejudice is entirely learned or partly based on some innate human tendency*. If there should be some innate human capacity for prejudice, we perhaps need to revise our programmatic efforts. But, whether or not the learning of prejudice is reinforced by innate capacities, *the question of the age at which intervention might best be introduced to influence the learning of positive attitudes and behaviors toward one's self and others is a crucial one that needs further examination*.

From existing research, we do know that children are aware of ethnic and social class differences at a very early age. The majority of these studies have been related to ethnic awareness and have involved the use of visual aids in interviewing children in preschools and primary grades. The data indicate that children are aware of ethnic differences by the age of three and of social class differences by the time they enter public school. Testing for ethnic and social class awareness does not appear to have been done on children under the age of three; in fact, we seem to know almost nothing of the ethnic and social class attitudes of infants and toddlers (except that some appear to fear people with skin color different from their own). With the growing placement of infants and toddlers in day care centers, it would appear that *research should develop methods to determine whether or not infants and toddlers are aware of ethnic and social class differences and, if so, what consequences such awareness has for child development and for the achievement of a successful ethnic and social class mix in institutions caring for very young children*.

Existing research also indicates that very young black children have shown a tendency in the past both to prefer and to identify themselves with "white" rather than "black" in experimental play situations. (White children overwhelmingly prefer and identify with "white" rather than "black" in the same situations.) These findings have been interpreted to mean that black children reject their own ethnic group, experience low self-esteem and favor the status of being white. Such rejection of one's own ethnicity has been found to be particularly pronounced among middle class black children, as compared with black children of working and lower class status. There are some indications that black children are presently showing a greater tendency to identify with and to prefer their own ethnic group; however, such positive change is not universally reported so that *research is needed to determine whether or not the majority of young black children today have a better self and group image than did their peers in the past*.

With the exception of a few recent studies, the findings on the self and group images of young black children are somewhat in contrast to many findings on older black children that have been reported over the last decade or so. The majority of studies on older black children have involved paper-and-pencil type tests, the results of which point to a positive self-concept on the part of many black youngsters. This self-concept has been found to be either equal to or greater than that reported for white children. Whether the differences in self-concept noted between older and younger black children are a function of age or of the differences in methodology[75] is a question that needs to be systematically examined by researchers. Longitudinal studies, carefully designed to take into account changing ethnic attitudes and relations, are needed to better understand the development of children's attitudes toward themselves and others and the relationship between developmental processes and environmental influences thought to be related to the formation of ethnic and social class behaviors. Such studies need to include non-Negro minority group children. Having a greater abundance of evidence on when and how to intervene to help enhance the minority group child's self-concept (if necessary) is one obvious benefit of such research; another benefit is indicated by present research which points to the fact that minority group children who have high self-esteem also show greater esteem for and better relations with groups different from their own.

It is possible that the differences in self-concept noted between younger and older black children are a function of what Goodman (1952) has termed ethnic orientation. With increasing age, the child is confronted with the task of matching his level of understanding with his verbal facility. He learns more and more the meaning of ethnic and social class terms and comes to use them more correctly and consistently. Attitudes become more fixed and yet, paradoxically, more differentiated until, by adolescence, they come to resemble "true" or adult-like attitudes.

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[75] Problems and differences in methodology appear throughout this report. Many of the problems and methodologies involved in studying inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors are also touched upon in this paper. For a more detailed and complete discussion of the measures used in studying inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors, the reader is referred to Walker (1972).

As the child grows older, he also tends to show changes in his behavior toward groups different from his own. The tendency he had shown in the preschool years to mix freely with children of different ethnic groups begins to disappear during the elementary years and the child comes to prefer his own group and to limit his social interaction more to children of his own group. Ethnic cleavage becomes quite apparent among children at least by the fourth or fifth grade.

This ethnic cleavage has important implications for research and for the goal of achieving a successful ethnic and social class mix in our institutions. However, at present, the phenomenon of ethnic cleavage is not well understood. It is highly likely that ethnic cleavage is related, in part, to group norms and values. These norms and values have been found to be one of the major determinants in the formation of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors. If the group in which the child is a member holds negative attitudes toward another group, the group is likely to expect the child to share its views. Should the child show signs of failing to adhere to his group's norms and values, he is likely to experience group pressures intended to produce conformity behavior. Loss of status, verbal condemnation and group rejection are part of the price the child must pay for failing to conform to the expectations of his group.

Several studies have shown that many children, as well as adults, abandon their own judgments and conform either actively or passively to perceived

ED 072 857 **RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN THE AREA OF SOCIALIZATION.**
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group norms. Such conformity varies according to the salience of the group to the individual, the ambiguity of the situation, the individual's personality characteristics and other factors; however, there seems to be little doubt that group norms and values are quite powerful and often produce conformity behavior. Studies conducted with black and white children indicate that the composition of the group, that is, the proportion of black and white children in a given group, influences the conformity behavior of both black and white children. In one study, for example, Negro children were found to show greater conformity behavior when outnumbered by whites whereas whites showed less conformity, the greater the number of Negro children in the group. In another study, white children showed more conformity in the face of unanimous opposition from whites than when unanimous opposition was voiced by blacks; however, Negroes were not subject to a similar ethnic effect. The significance of such findings is not clear. For one thing, research is needed to clarify when conformity behavior is and is not damaging to the child's development and to the achievement of harmonious group relations. More research is also needed to clarify the factors involved in conformity behavior in the group situation. Such factors should include not only the characteristics of the group (e.g., its ethnic and social class composition) but also the characteristics of its individual members (e.g., age and personality functioning).

There are various other phenomena that are important in group functioning which need to be examined. For example, research indicates that competition impairs group functioning, lowers friendship among group members, creates frustration and sometimes leads the loser to attribute his own strong hostile tendencies to his rival. Frustration and anger induced in the competitive setting also appear to increase the chances that aggressive tendencies will be generalized to some source other than the frustrator.

Competition, of course, is a persuasive aspect of American life. Children are encouraged to compete with one another in many ways and in various settings. The ability to compete has become a necessary component of success. Yet, not all American children have been taught to value competition. Some cultural groups, in fact, discourage competitive behavior and value cooperative behavior. Of all ethnic groups tested, it is the white middle class child who exhibits the greatest amount of competitive behavior. This behavior is rewarded (within bounds) by our predominantly middle class institutions. Thus, children of different ethnic groups do not come together in our institutions with the same competitive abilities and norms and, for this reason, probably do not have equal chances for success in various endeavors.

Given the persuasiveness of competition in our society, the relationship between the ability to compete and success, the differences in the ability or willingness to compete among different ethnic groups, and the empirical evidence which points to various adverse effects of competition, it would seem that research is needed to pursue many types of studies on the effects of competition on child development and on the role which competition may play in hindering a successful ethnic and social class mix among children in our various child care institutions.

Some studies have found that harmonious intergroup relations are fostered whenever group members cooperate to attain mutually advantageous goals. A dramatic instance of the promotion of intergroup friendship through cooperative endeavors appears in the well-known study by Sherif and Sherif

(1953) of children attending a summer camp. However, this effect has not always been produced in the laboratory setting. While it seems clear that cooperation sometimes leads to better intergroup and intragroup relations, research is needed to determine the conditions under which cooperative group behavior leads to greater intergroup and intragroup friendship.

Clarification of the effects of such group behaviors as conformity, competition and cooperation might well aid in devising programs to achieve a successful ethnic and social class mix in our schools and other institutions.

One important issue that is relevant to all studies on group behavior is that of group composition. A pertinent research question might well be: What proportion of majority versus minority group children, and what proportion of different age and sex groups, promotes desirable group behavior? A number of studies cited in this report indicate that ethnic attitudes, self-concept and intergroup relations may be affected by the proportion of different ethnic groups in a given integrated or segregated setting; however, the proportions influencing particular attitudes and behaviors remain undetermined.

Mention has already been made of the fact that some groups are more salient than others to an individual and thus will exert a greater influence upon his inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors. The child's family is a particularly crucial group in this respect. For several decades various studies have shown positive, although low correlations, between the prejudiced attitudes of children and those of their parents. Further, many investigators have found a correlation between disciplined, status-oriented and harsh family settings and later ethnic prejudice in the children reared in these families. The child rearing practices leading to a prejudice-prone personality have, in turn, been found to be highly correlated with low socioeconomic status and low educational levels. Ethnic prejudice, in fact, is highly correlated with low educational and socioeconomic status whether one views prejudice within or outside of the family setting.

Correlations, of course, cannot answer questions of causation. Further, the variance in correlational studies indicates that ethnic prejudice is not limited to persons of low socioeconomic and educational status. Some investigators have emphasized the role of parental child rearing practices as the major determinant in ethnic prejudice and merely held that the practices leading to the formation of prejudice in the child are simply more prevalent among the lower and working classes. However, these studies, in general, have ignored cultural differences in child rearing practices. We know very little about the relationship between the child rearing practices of minority group parents and the development of ethnic prejudice in their children. Yet, by measures other than child rearing practices (e.g., sociometric techniques), non-white children appear to manifest ethnic prejudice just as white children do. Thus, *research is needed to clarify the relationship between ethnic and social class prejudice and child rearing practices among all types of American families*.

The school, too, is thought to be a major determinant in the formation of inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors. Teachers, in particular, are a major socializing agent, one that children may imitate, model or simply learn from through the teacher's transmission of implicit or explicit attitudes and behaviors. Research indicates that many school staff hold unfavorable conceptions of disadvantaged and minority group children. These unfavorable conceptions may be manifested directly, as in calling a child a derogatory name in the classroom; or, they may be expressed indirectly through lowered expectations of a child's performance, grading on some basis other than achievement, and so on. The negative stereotypes which some teachers hold toward minority group children may be reinforced by the negative stereotypes of various minority groups that still appear in many textbooks. The extent to which the negative attitudes expressed toward disadvantaged and minority group children in the school environment affects the attitudes and behaviors of children has yet to be determined systematically. However, since the teaching of the history and culture of various minority groups has met with considerable success, it is highly likely that transmission of explicit information in the school does have some influence upon the intergroup attitudes and behaviors of children. Further, since human relations training for school personnel appears to help teachers deal with the process of desegregation, it is reasonable to assume that teachers' ethnic attitudes have some effect upon the attitudes and behaviors of their students. However, controlled research is needed to determine all the school and classroom variables that promote harmonious relations between children of different ethnic and social class groups in the school environment. Since the school does not operate in a vacuum, such research needs to include the impact of the home and community upon the school environment.

If the school has not succeeded in eradicating prejudice, education has at least been a mitigating force. Numerous studies indicate that ethnic prejudice generally decreases as the level of education increases. This means, of course, that prejudice is correlated also with socioeconomic status.

The economic hardships borne by the lower classes appear to create frustration and hostility which, in turn, seem related to ethnic prejudice.

Correlational findings, for example, associate economic frustrations with the number of Negroes lynched in the South in the 1930's. Evidence also suggests that "downwardly mobile" men are more hostile to minority groups than are "upwardly mobile" men. And, Americans seem to share common beliefs about the types of occupations that are accorded high or low social status. This understanding of status differentials has been found to be well understood by children, at least by the early elementary school years. One could assume that children learn a good deal of prejudice while they learn these differences in social status and that such learning is one of the ways in which national social norms come to be a persuasive force in influencing inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors. Given this possibility, it might be fruitful to establish pilot projects to determine whether or not teaching an appreciation of the contribution which different occupations make to our society would improve the inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors of young children.

The overall structure of our society--its political, economic and social norms and values--exerts a major socializing force. It affects, in many ways, the functioning and attitudes of our families, teachers and other socializing agents. It also forms the basis for the operating procedures of our various child care institutions.

The influence of the overall societal structure upon children's development, however, is probably more indirect than direct. It is family members, teachers, peers and other significant persons in the child's life that seem to directly affect the greater part of the child's development. It is these "significant others" who most likely will play the greater role in the formation of the child's personality. The highly prejudiced person, who is often referred to as the "authoritarian personality," is generally one who has been reared by harsh parents who are concerned about family status. In contrast to more tolerant persons, highly prejudiced individuals show a more rigid personality organization, greater conventionality in their values, more difficulty in accepting socially deviant impulses as part of their "self," a greater tendency to externalize these deviant impulses by means of projection and a greater inclination to be status and power oriented in their personal relationships. In addition, highly prejudiced individuals appear to have characteristic styles of thinking. They have been found to show intolerance of ambiguity, rigid and dichotomous thinking, a tendency to stereotype others, a lower level of abstract reasoning than more tolerant individuals and a tendency to assume that people different from themselves hold beliefs that differ from their own on highly important issues.

The personality and cognitive styles of highly prejudiced individuals are correlated with lower socioeconomic status and lower levels of education. These social class indicators also are correlated with certain types of personality traits that have been found to be prevalent among socially disorganized groups. These personality traits include feelings of self-contempt, personal inadequacy, mistrust of others, anomy, despair, anxiety, hostility, fatalism, etc.

Where poverty and social disorganization are present, the personality development of white and non-white individuals may have much in common. This is especially true when comparing poor white and Negro individuals. However, as was noted in this report, it is extremely difficult to characterize the personality structure of non-Negro minorities in America. The effects of social class and social organization interact in these cases not only with cultural norms and values that differ from those of the dominant society but also with the degree of acculturation which the individual and his group has experienced. It was noted that there are at least six personality types among second generation Japanese-Americans. Similarly, American Indians differ in personality structure not only in accordance with their tribal membership but also correspondingly with their level of acculturation. Although Americans have long tended to believe that assimilation and acculturation were the means by which ethnic minorities could best become part of the dominant society, evidence indicates that acculturation may have adverse effects upon the personality functioning of some ethnic minorities under certain conditions. For example, where ethnic minorities have internalized many middle class values and have developed high levels of aspiration, personality dysfunction may follow if there are few opportunities for these minority persons to participate in activities that correspond to their internalized values and their levels of aspiration.

It is perhaps a realistic outlook that causes many minority group youngsters to counter their high levels of aspiration with lowered expectations about their future opportunities. And, in spite of their disadvantaged position, many minority group youngsters do appear to have very positive self-concepts according to paper-and-pencil type questionnaires. Mention has already been made of the need for systematic research on the self-concept of minority group children to determine whether these findings are "real" or an artifact of our measurement techniques. We might also benefit by the advice of many minority group individuals and *devise research designed to tap the strengths as well as the weaknesses of oppressed minorities and economically disadvantaged groups*. If we assume that harmonious inter- and intra-group relations are partly dependent upon the personality structure of individuals, *more research is needed to delineate the different types of* *personalities that exist among our various ethnic and social class groups. Research is needed also to ascertain the types of intervention that will bring about positive attitudinal and behavioral changes in individuals with different cognitive styles and personality structures.*

The problem of how to change inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors extends, of course, far beyond the realm of individual personalities. Numerous suggestions have been made and various research and action programs implemented to accomplish the goal of bringing about more harmonious relations among and between our various ethnic and social class groups. Some ideas have involved changes in the American social structure, such as the income maintenance programs and employment opportunities described in Part II of this document. Other approaches have evolved around legal and political means of accomplishing desegregation and integration. Still other approaches have involved non-legal means of increasing intra- and inter-group contact. Finally, there have been those measures designed to bring about change through propaganda, informational and educational approaches.

Various studies have shown that a large proportion of Americans now express favorable attitudes toward integration and desegregation. Such favorable responses are positively related to higher levels of education and higher socioeconomic status. However, there is often a discrepancy between these expressed attitudes and actual behavior. For example, it is most often the upper middle class who express highly favorable attitudes toward integration; yet, this same group may move from their neighborhood when residential integration actually occurs. Such inconsistency between attitudes and behavior does not necessarily invalidate attitude theory as Ehrlich (1969) notes. However, it is apparent that much more *research is* needed to determine the variables related to attitude-behavior inconsistency.

In the past, opportunities for attitudinal-behavioral inconsistency in ethnic relations were somewhat more limited than they are today. Isolation of different ethnic groups was quite common at most levels of social interaction. Today, though we are far from achieving integration, desegregation is occurring at several levels so that discrepancies between attitudes and behavior are likely to be more common.

The increased contact between different groups brought about by the desegregation process has not led to a rapid increase in better intergroup relations, as some theorists would have predicted. Contact, in fact, has sometimes brought about an increase in prejudice toward ethnic minorities. The more favorable changes appear to occur whenever contact involves meetings under equal-status conditions, particularly if the contact involves cooperative efforts to achieve mutually advantageous goals. Favorable ethnic attitudes also appear to evolve whenever an individual changes his group membership and this change is accompanied by an internalization of the values of the new group as well as a weakening of the individual's former values.

Perhaps the greatest amount of intergroup contact and changes in group membership among American children has occurred as a result of the desegregation of public schools. In recent years, a vast literature has appeared on various aspects of school integration. Much of the evidence indicates that desegregation is related to an improvement in the academic achievement as well as the self-concept of minority group children. In addition, most studies indicate that desegregation is accompanied by greater friendliness between minority and majority group children. However, there is no evidence that this increased friendliness extends to more intimate types of interethnic student associations, such as the formation of student groupings on campus and in the cafeterias. Further, gains in achievement and a more positive self-concept are not universally reported. The differences in the findings of various studies may be due, in part, to variations in the schools being studied; however, it is quite likely that they also are due partly to a number of design and measurement problems, some of which were cited in this report. What seems clear is that systematic, longitudinal research is needed to determine the impact of desegregation and integration upon child development (including children's inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors), and the conditions under which successful desegregation and integration occur. Such research might profitably be extended beyond the school to include intergroup contact in residential areas, recreational facilities and other institutions.

Research is also needed to determine why some communications designed to combat ethnic prejudice are more successful than others. In the case of children and youth, it would seem particularly fruitful to study more systematically the effects of different social studies curriculum (e.g., black history) upon children's inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors.

In summary, it can be said that research presently points to a complex interaction of many socialization influences upon the development and modification of children's intergroup and intragroup attitudes and behaviors. It is doubtful, however, that research has delineated all of the socialization influences involved in the development and modification of these behaviors. For example, practically no attention has been given to the influence of television, health-care institutions, religious institutions, and language differences upon the development and/or modification of children's inter- and intra-group attitudes and behaviors. Yet, all of these socialization influences probably affect such attitudes and behaviors. Further, even in the areas in which there is a good deal of research, problems in measurement, design and theoretical understanding make much of the present evidence questionable.

In the past years, our society has witnessed the divisive and destructive influence which prejudice and mistrust can generate. If we are to prevent these devastating effects, we need a far better understanding of how prejudice develops and how it can be modified. Developing such knowledge remains an important challenge to research.

APPENDIX I-PART I

It was noted in the last section of Part I of this report that attempts to bring about opinion change through various communication media may be affected by factors related to the listener, the communicator and the media used to persuade the listener. Several of these factors are listed here. For a more detailed discussion of the summarized findings presented in this section, the reader is referred to the work of Yale Communication Research Program. The studies cited in this section may be found in Hovland, et al. (1968).

A. The Effects of the Communicator.

Several studies indicate that the perceived expertness of the communicator has an effect upon the extent and direction of opinion change. The most noteworthy of these effects involves the perceived credibility of the communicator. These credibility effects appear to operate in several ways:

1. Communications attributed to low credibility sources tend to be considered by the listener as more biased and unfair in presentation than identical ones attributed to high credibility sources.
2. High credibility sources have a substantially greater impact on the audience's opinions than low credibility sources.
3. The effects of the credibility of the communicator do not appear to be the result of differences in the amount of attention or comprehension on the part of members of the audience.
4. The positive effect of the high credibility sources and the negative effects of the low credibility communicators tend to disappear among listeners after a period of several weeks.

B. The Persuasive Communication.

When a communicator attempts to persuade people to adopt his conclusions, he generally employs arguments and appeals which function as incentives to his audience. Among the major classes of such incentives are (a) substantiating the arguments that may lead the audience to judge the communicator's conclusions as "true" or "correct"; (b) "positive" appeals which call attention to the rewards to be gained from accepting the appeal; and (c) "negative" appeals intended to arouse fear by depicting the unpleasant consequences of failure to accept the communicator's conclusions.

1. Fear appeals. When a communication relies on fear appeals, its effectiveness in arousing emotional tension depends upon such factors as the explicitness of the communication, the source to which it is attributed and the prior communication experiences of the audience. One study done by the Yale group used fear appeals to change the opinions of high school students toward dental hygiene practices. The findings suggested that the use of strong fear appeals interfered with the over-all effectiveness of the persuasive communication when it evoked a high degree of emotional tension without subsequently providing the listener with adequate reassurance against the fear aroused. It was noted that, when fear was strongly aroused and not relieved by reassurances, the audience was motivated to ignore or minimize the importance of the threat contained in the communication.

2. Group norms. Various types of communications having to do with group norms function as powerful incentives for the listener to either accept or reject new opinions. Some of the effects may

be attributable to the listener's predisposition to conform to group norms, especially if the message leads the listener to take group norms into account in forming his opinion on a given issue. One of the implications of the findings of the Yale group concerning the importance of group norms in affecting opinion change is that any counternorm communication will exert more influence if it calls attention to facts which reveal a lack of community consensus on the particular issue being presented.

3. Organization of persuasive arguments. One recurrent problem in preparing communication is whether or not the communication should state the conclusion explicitly or leave it to be drawn by the audience. The work of the Yale group suggests that, when communications deal with complicated issues, the conclusion should be stated explicitly and not be left to the reasoning of the audience.

One factor that needs to be considered in deciding upon an explicit versus implicit conclusion drawing is the "ego involvement" of the listener. On topics where the individual is less inclined to be dependent upon the opinions of experts and more likely to resist the influence of others, implicit treatment of the conclusion may be more effective.

Whether a major argument should be used at the outset of a communication or saved for the climax, and the question of the relative superiority of a one-sided versus a two-sided communication are other organizational factors to consider in devising a persuasive communication.

The former of the above issues involves the old question of primacy versus recency--does the first or second of two speakers or parts of messages have some advantage over and above the relative effects of the persuasive material. The answer seems to depend upon the conditions of the communication situation. The factors found most useful in analyzing the problem are those of attention, comprehension and acceptance on the part of the listener. For example, variations in attention may determine whether the first or second communication on an issue is more effective. If the issue is an unfamiliar one and the audience only becomes aware of it late in the communication, the second part of the communication will receive greater attention and therefore be more effective. Also, understanding and assimilating the first communication may increase the effectiveness of the second (e.g., if the material is complicated and requires prior familiarity for its full implications to be grasped). The second communication may be at a disadvantage with respect to comprehension under some conditions, as when the first communication is barely assimilated and the person is then confronted with new and contradictory ideas in the second communication. When both attention and comprehension factors are held constant, the outcome will depend upon a third set of factors which affects the acceptance of the two opposed sides. For example, if the audience feels highly uncertain about an issue but is under pressure to make a decision, the first persuasive communication may have a disproportionate influence.

Personality variables related to the listener may also determine the relative effects of the first or last communication (see below).

Experiments on one-sided versus two-sided arguments show an advantage for the two-sided presentation over time, provided the audience is subjected to counterpropaganda in the future.

It appears that when a two-sided presentation is used, the hearer is led to the recommended opinion in a context that takes account of opposing arguments. In this way, the listener is given an advance basis for ignoring or discounting opposing arguments and is "innoculated" against subsequent communications which advocate a contradictory point of view. The comparative effectiveness of one-sided versus two-sided presentations is also shown to interact with audience factors. For example, the two-sided presentation is more effective with persons of higher educational level. On the other hand, the one-sided communication may be more effective among those members of the audience who are initially in agreement with the communicator's position.

C. The Audience.

As in all situations, individuals react differently to communications designed to produce attitude change. Some of the major motivational predispositions that lead individuals to reject or accept new opinions are listed below.

1. Group conformity motives. Evidence indicates that persons who are most highly motivated to maintain their membership in a particular group tend to be the most susceptible to influence by other members

of that group. Such persons are also most resistant to communications contrary to the standards of their group.

2. Individual differences in persuasibility. In addition to motives stemming from group membership, other sources of individual differences in responsiveness to communications have been noted. For example, research has shown that differences in mental ability may affect the extent to which the individual is susceptible to persuasion. However, the relationship involved is highly complex; persons with higher intellectual ability, as would be expected, appear to learn what is presented more readily and to draw appropriate inferences more effectively than those with lower intellectual ability; on the other hand, those with higher ability are also more likely to be more critical in accepting arguments and conclusions than persons with lesser ability.

   Data also indicate that persons with low self-esteem are predisposed to being highly influenced by persuasive communications. Those who manifest social inadequacy, inhibition of aggression and depressive tendencies appear to show the greatest opinion change. On the other hand, persons who have acute psychoneurotic symptoms seem predisposed to resist persuasion.

   Certain response tendencies also seem to be related to the effectiveness of a communication. Hovland, *et al*. note that, in the socialization of the child, and in situations where a person enters a new community or social group, verbal conformity to normative beliefs is often required. In some cases, these beliefs are eventually internalized; in other cases, they are not. In investigating the factors that could lead to alternative outcomes in the cases described above, the Yale group found that active participation increases the effectiveness of a persuasive communication. For example, having to read aloud a communication to others appears to produce greater opinion change than merely being passively exposed to a communication. Role playing and improvising a communication also appear to increase the effectiveness of a communication, at least under certain conditions.

To illustrate these conditions, the authors present the findings of an experiment in which children were offered different incentives for writing essays conforming to the communicator's position. A control group was offered no special incentive; a second group (high incentive) was told that every student who conformed would receive a prize; and a third group (low incentive) was told that every student who conformed would be eligible for a prize but that only a few would receive it. The results showed the control group to have the lowest and the high incentive group the highest degree of conformity. The amount of opinion change, however, did not vary directly with the degree of conformity. Significantly more opinion change was found in the low incentive group than in either of the other two groups. Further, essays produced under the low incentive condition were found to be superior in quality and to contain a higher frequency of new arguments than the essays produced under the other conditions. The findings suggest that the effects of active participation depend upon whether or not the act of overt conformity is accompanied by inner responses of a supporting or of an interfering nature. They also lend support to the improvisation hypothesis which, in summary, states that improvision or improvised role playing stimulates the individual to make effective communications and to devise the kinds of arguments, illustrations and motivating appeals that are most likely to be convincing to himself.

Interest, attention and other factors important in the learning process are also involved in persuasive communications, as indicated above.

Other motivational factors that operate to increase or decrease the degree of acceptance of a persuasive communication are (1) expectations of being "right" or "wrong," (2) expectations of being impartially advised, or of being manipulated by the communicator, and (3) expectations of being approved or disapproved by others. Persuasive communications generally evoke one or another of these expectations and these expectations, in turn, appear capable of arousing strong motives which the individual has acquired through past experiences in which he has either been rewarded or punished as a consequence of believing and accepting what other people have told him. These various expectations on the part of the listener interact with the effects of the communicator and the communication in a number of ways. For example, if the communication deals with a controversial topic, the listener is likely to be hesitant and cautious in order to avoid being wrong or inviting social disapproval. In this case, the "expertness" of the communicator may make the listener more prone to accept the persuasive message. Hesitancy on the part of the listener may also arise if he has recently been exposed to other communications advocating a position different than the one being presented.

The above summary of some of the work of the Yale Communication Research Program provides some idea of the complexities involved in using communication media to change opinion. The data indicate that it is not enough to devise a good communication or to employ an effective speaker. Equally, if not more important, is knowing the abilities and motivations of one's audience.

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PART II

THE IMPACT OF VARIOUS KINDS OF INCOME SUPPORT ON THE SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN

by

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INTRODUCTION

Part I of this document focused primarily on human relations and with institutions as contributors to the socialization of children. In this section, the focus is on the relationship between various kinds of economic support for families and the development of attitudes creating dependence or independence, asocial behavior or social responsibility among children.

There is, of course, no single or direct link between the manner in which parents acquire money, whether it be work, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, guaranteed annual income, etc., and the attitudes and behavior of the children. The interconnecting links in this process are many, tenuous and unclear; often data needed to understand this process are missing entirely. Many variables in the society as a whole, in the local community, in the family, and in the child himself serve to mediate in the process linking the source of family income to children's attitudes and behavior.

Further, the *source* of family income is not independent from the *amount* of family income. The amount of family income affects all material aspects of family life including the neighborhood and house in which a child is raised, the schools he attends, the quantity and quality of food and clothing available to the child, as well as the level of health care provided. The amount of income a family has is also related to the size and structure of the family, the degree of marital stability and the illegitimacy rate. With the exception of a relatively small number of families who are participants in work incentive and income maintenance experiments, no public source of family support is sufficient to lift a family out of poverty.

It is not a simple matter to separate the impact on children of the source of family income from the impact of the amount of family income since all of the family support schemes in operation for any length of time leave children vulnerable to the hazards of poverty. The consequences and concomitants of being raised in poverty have been described in an abundance of theoretical and empirical studies. These hazards to children include being raised in slum neighborhoods, in overcrowded, deteriorating homes, and subject to frequent moves both within one neighborhood and from one geographical area to another. Low-income is also associated with large families, unstable marriages, a high rate of single parent homes due to illegitimacy or father-absence. Unemployment, or intermittent employment at low skill, low paying jobs is common to low-income fathers and mothers.

Low socioeconomic status has also been shown to be associated with differences in child-rearing styles, including the amount of supervision and control, and a lack of clarity as well as over-severity of disciplinary rules. There are differences in maternal-child interaction, the quality of affective relationships and maternal teaching styles, including the amount of intellectual stimulation and the amount and/or type of verbal interaction. Low-income may also be related to lowered expectations of achievement as well as a lack of knowledge of how to achieve expectations. Self-esteem, pressures for achievement, independence and self-reliance have been shown to differ in low-income families.

In low-income areas, children attend schools in which there are lower expectations, a high rate of underachievement and high drop out rates. The incidence of crime, violence, asocial and deviant behaviors is far greater in low-income areas than in the general population.

Regardless of whether the family receives its income from AFDC payments, work training programs, or any other source of public support, the majority of children so supported are vulnerable to many of these concomitants of low-income. Starting with this understanding then, the overall purpose of this paper is to review the literature to try to determine if these various forms of income support have differential impacts on any of the concomitants of poverty.

Few studies were found which examined the direct impact on children of various forms of income support to families. A considerable number of studies were located, however, which examined the impact of source of income on family structure, stability, parental attitudes, self-concept and degree of alienation. These variables in the family structure and parental self-concept are known to have impact on the behavior of children. Any economic support program which influences the size of the family and fertility rates may be expected to influence the extent to which children see their homes as happy and therefore develop self-reliance. Size of the family has been reported to be related to these child outcomes. Even with socioeconomic differences controlled for, Moore (1965) reported that families with more than four children are less likely to be perceived by the children as happy; Douvan (1966) found that children in such families are less likely to be self-reliant, and outgoing or to do well in school. Any income support program which increases the likelihood that families will be headed by women may also increase the incidence of delinquent behavior among children, since many studies have indicated that father-absence and juvenile delinquent behavior are correlated.

Because the links between source of income and behavioral outcomes among children are not direct, data relating to several indirect approaches to the linkages are examined in this paper. First, existing mechanisms for income support as well as the attitudes towards these supports are reviewed. These mechanisms include income through work, through the various social insurance programs, welfare (AFDC), guaranteed annual income or work incentive programs, and work experience and training programs.

Second, the family's access to, eligibility for and utilization of these various types of income mechanisms are briefly reviewed. Attitudes toward work, commitment to work and barriers to employment in the individual as well as in the society are reviewed and related to dependent populations. Third, data on the positive and negative consequences to the family of the various types of income mechanisms are discussed. These include impacts on the economic status of the family, on the structure, stability, size and functioning of the family. In the third part also, data on the positive and negative consequences to parents' self-esteem, morale, degree of alienation or powerlessness, and attitudes towards dependency of various income support plans are reviewed. Finally in the third part, data are presented from the few studies which examine the direct consequences to children growing up in families with income from these various sources. Recommendations are then made for future research needs and issues.

SOURCES OF FAMILY INCOME AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS THESE SOURCES

Various Sources of Family Income

American families receive their income support from a variety of sources: wages resulting from employment, interest on investments, insurance benefits, including unemployment insurance, retirement and disability benefits paid through private insurance as well as the federal Social Security system, Workman's Compensation, and various welfare benefits including the AFDC program, work training programs and income maintenance schemes.

Income from wages and investments. Employment and the resulting wages of one or both adults provides the major income support for the 29 million families with children under 18 years of age. In addition, nearly 31 million *individuals*, including minor children, own stock* and presumably are eligible to/or derive some income from this ownership.

Unemployment insurance. The main support of families when the employed worker loses his job is unemployment insurance, sometimes private, but generally through benefits established on a national basis by the Social Security Act of 1935. Revenue for unemployment insurance under this program is collected by a tax on employers on the annual wages of employees and is primarily state administered. Benefits are paid in cash to unemployed workers through the local offices of the U.S. Employment

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*New York Stock Exchange, Inc, Census of Shareholders (New York: New York Stock Exchange, Inc., 1970).

Service, which is part of the Bureau of Employment Security of the U.S. Department of Labor. Though amounts of benefits and duration of benefits vary from state to state, unemployed workers collect about 50 percent of past earnings subject to a maximum established by each state. Kline (1963) reports that the benefit payments have maintained family income of millions of families when the wage earner was unemployed, and have acted to stabilize the economics of the family and the society as a whole. However, 10 percent of workers are not eligible for such benefits, benefits are usually too low to sustain most families for long periods of time, and the system makes no additional allowance for large families and does not cover prolonged unemployment. This program was conceived, and in fact is, a *temporary* solution for families with lost wages.

Social insurance programs of the Social Security Administration. The four basic federal programs administered by the Social Security Administration which provide supports are the Old Age Assistance program, Survivors, Disability and Health Insurance programs. These programs are financed by taxes paid by employers and employees and by self-employed workers in those occupations covered by the act. Approximately 90 percent of workers in the United States are covered or are eligible for coverage. The basic premises of these four programs are that all employed workers should be covered, and that benefits are paid as a matter of right, not of charity since the workers themselves have purchased the insurance through payment of tax on their earnings. Though in some cases Old Age Benefits or Hospital and Medical Insurance Benefits may be paid to families with young children, benefits to such families represent a small minority of these cases. Survivors Insurance and Disability Benefits represent the bulk of the families with children receiving benefits under the programs administered by the Social Security Administration.

Survivors of workers insured under the Social Security Act are entitled to receive benefits; these can be paid to a surviving widow, dependent widower, dependent beneficiary, or child of the deceased worker. In 1970, six and a half million* persons derived all or part of their incomes from Survivors Benefits. Most of these beneficiaries were widows and children under the age of 18.

Benefits are paid to insured workers who are totally and permanently disabled, to workers whose disabilities are expected to last at least 12 months beginning with the seventh month of disability, and to dependents of disabled workers. Benefits are paid to a child, age 18 or over, where such child incurred the disability before becomming 18 and has been continuously disabled since that time. Over 665,000 disabled workers received monthly benefits under this program in 1970.*

Workmen's Compensation. Administered by the states, the Workmen's Compensation programs pay benefits in any one week to approximately half a million persons injured on their jobs. These benefits include cash payments as well as payments for medical care and rehabilitation. Though benefits and regulations vary from state to state, and benefits are often inadequate, Workmen's Compensation programs do protect the large majority of workers against loss of income from job related disabilities.

Aid to Families with Dependent Children. As of January, 1972,** 2,935,000 families with 10,696,000 individuals received AFDC support.

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*Social Security Administration, Research and Demonstration Division.

**From the Public Assistance Statistics, January, 1972. National Center for Social Statistics.

Four major reasons for dependency are recognized under federal law: 1) physical or mental incapacity of a parent, 2) death of a parent, 3) continued absence from the home of a parent, and 4) unemployment of a parent. This program is administered by the states with financial participation of the federal government made available through the Social Security Act. Of the nearly three million families receiving benefits, less than half a million are headed by men. According to the study "Findings of the 1971 AFDC Study," nearly 87 percent of AFDC homes have only one parent, nearly always the mother. About 14 percent of these mothers are employed full or part time, but the income from their employment is not sufficient to maintain the family without supplemental funds. Another six percent of the mothers are enrolled in training programs. In 1971, about 48 percent of the families were white, 43 percent black. Fifty-four percent of families have one or two children. Nearly two-thirds of the families were receiving AFDC for the first time in 1971, but nearly 18 percent had received assistance for five years or more.

Job Training and Experience Programs. The federal government operates more than 50 work training programs; others are operated by state and local governments. Many of these programs provide a stipend or work allowance for participants in training. While the major number of such work training allowances are paid to low-income people in training for entry level positions, some training programs pay stipends to professionals in training including social workers, physicians, psychiatrists, etc.

Income maintenance experiments. In the past four years a few thousand American families have been and are participating in various experiments at direct income maintenance in Seattle, Gary and several New Jersey cities. These studies have been designed to test various factors: the effect of direct income maintenance on earnings of families, on family structure, size and functioning, and the effect of various levels of support for training on income of workers. None has been designed to examine the impact on the children in the experimental families.

The Relationship Between Source of Income and Societal Acceptance

Frances Feldman (1957) points out that the possession of money by the American family means more than the ability to purchase goods and services. The family's social status is often determined by its income. Money symbolizes security -- economic, social, and emotional security. As a report by Greenleigh Associates (1969) states, "In our work-oriented money economy, employment is not only a source of livelihood but of status, as well."

Society's rating of a family's status is related to the *source* from which income is derived. Because Americans hold work and personal initiative in high regard, income derived from these sources are also held in high esteem. Income derived from work, income derived from investments and income from voluntarily purchased life, unemployment or disability insurance are viewed as rights or return on investments, and are generally held in higher esteem than sources of income perceived as "subsidized."

However, many forms of income are in fact subsidized by government, even though they are often not regarded as such. The most wide-spread form of government subsidy to families is through the federal and state income tax exemptions for dependents. These tax exemptions apply to the 29 million families with children under 18 years of age. Income from investments, often taxable only on a 50 percent capital gains base, is almost never viewed as being subsidized. The many benefits paid to veterans ranging from pensions to education expenses for themselves and their children are viewed as earned because of service to their country.

Though not held in as high esteem as income derived from current employment, income paid through Old Age and Survivors Benefits, Unemployment and Workmen's Compensation are generally acceptable because these benefits are tied to *past* employment, and usually are not seen as government subsidies.

Weinberger (1969) points out that subsidies in our society go to a variety of individuals and groups. He indicates that the best known subsidy, though not the most widespread, is the farm support program, and states:

> approximately 80 percent of the direct and indirect assistance under the farm support program goes to 1,000,000 farmers with an average income of almost $10,000 a year, and that only the remaining 20 percent of assistance goes to the 2,500,000 poorer farmers. (p. 149.)

He goes on to state, "The intriguing thing about assistance programs for industry is that they do not evoke the same negative responses from the general public that assistance programs for the financially needy do."

While the status of the family is contingent upon the *source* of the income, and whether or not this source is seen as subsidized, it is also related to society's attitudes toward personal dependency. As Weinberger (1969) states, "The notion of personal fault for financial dependency is widespread in the United States." (p. 4.) He points out that poor people in this country are judged by a double standard: one which accepts subsidies to industry, but responds negatively to recipients of subsidies for the poor. Poor people who are in government subsidized work training programs are perceived as "trying to help themselves," but poor people who are recipients of general relief or Aid to Families with Dependent Children are held in lowest esteem since their income is derived from a subsidized source *and* it is not derived through work or personal initiative.

The universality of dissatisfaction with the AFDC program was aptly described by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1967: "It is criticized by liberals and conservatives, by the poor and the wealthy, by social workers and politicians, by whites and by Negroes in every area of the Nation." On August 11, 1969, President Richard M. Nixon made the following statement:

> A welfare system is a failure when it takes care of those who *can* take care of themselves, when it drastically varies payments in different areas, when it breaks up families, when it perpetuates a vicious cycle of dependency, when it strips human beings of their dignity.

Negative perceptions of programs to provide income for families appear to be related to the extent to which they are seen as entitlements by the society at large as well as by the individuals receiving the income. That few welfare recipients regard welfare assistance as a right has been pointed out by Briar (1966). This is characterized by one welfare recipients' statement about the welfare department: "You are going to them for money . . . *they* are supporting you." The effects of a negative perception about the source of their income on the self-image and self-esteem of the recipients is discussed in part three of this paper.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS WORK AND BARRIERS TO EMPLOYMENT AMONG DEPENDENT POPULATIONS

The availability of various methods of income support to individuals and families varies widely. Work, the most wide-spread method of acquiring income is not equally available to all adults in the society. The likelihood of a given adult being employed depends upon his attitudes toward work, his commitment to work, his preparation for work, and the barriers to employment both in himself and in the society. In this section data relating to these are examined.

Attitudes Toward Work

Numerous studies* have found that many, if not most unemployed welfare recipients report positive attitudes toward work. Robins (1970) found that both male and female AFDC recipients had positive attitudes towards work as measured by Semantic Differential scale as shown in Chart 1 on the following page.

The majority of welfare recipients have been reported willing to work by a number of investigators. Feldman (1972) found that most welfare mothers said that they would enjoy working. Burnside (1971) examined the potential employability of a sample of 558 AFDC mothers in six states, and found that between 52 and 63 percent of the women, depending on the state, stated that they would work at a steady job providing child care were available. Further, between 53 and 76 percent of the sample said that they expected to work in the future. Robins (1970) found that 98 percent of the 633 men and 87 percent of the 3,498 women receiving welfare responded positively to the

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*See Appendix for a description of these studies.

CHART 1

Attitudes Toward Work of AFDC Recipients*

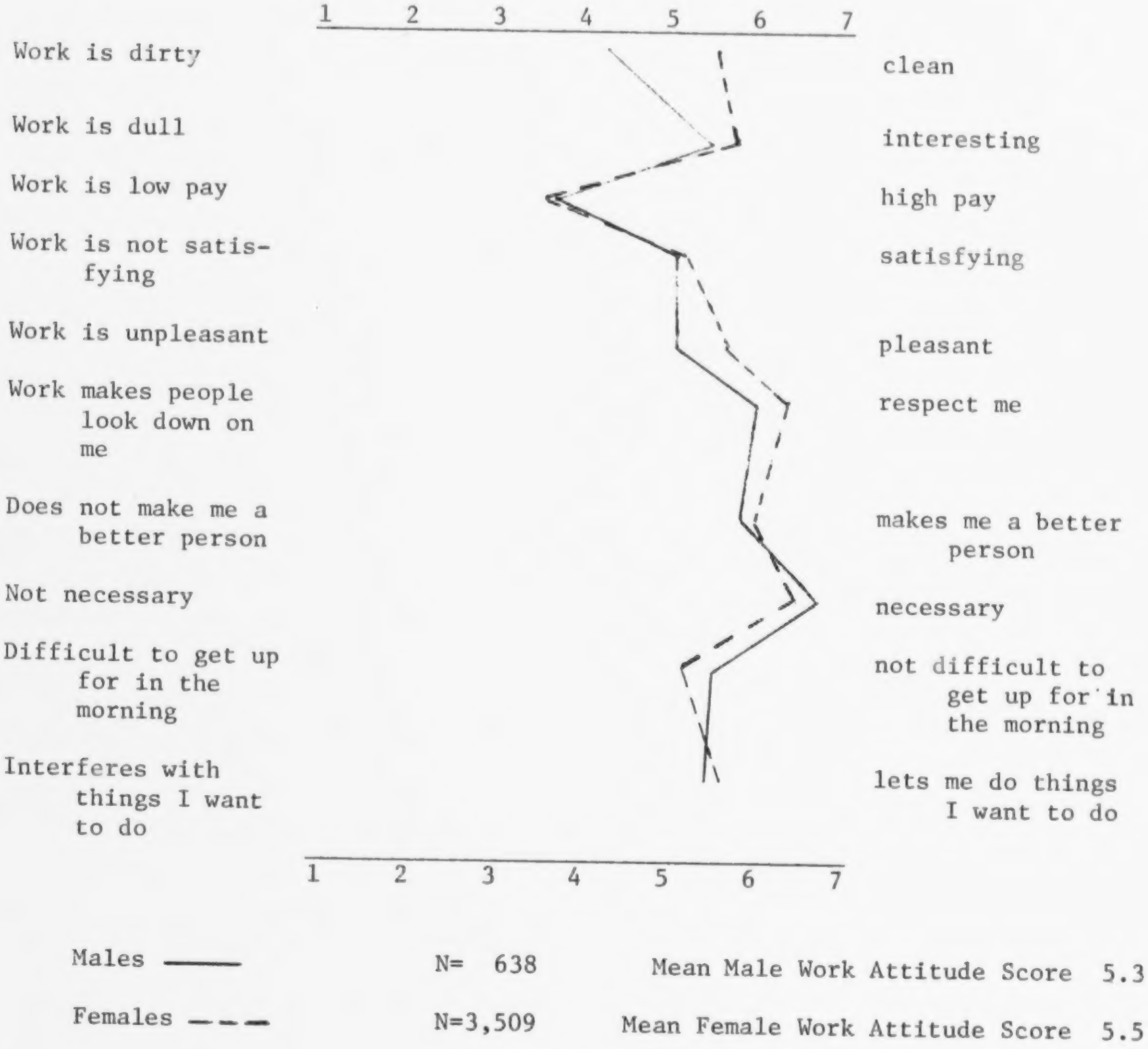

*Chart constructed from data contained in Table 6 - 10, p. 83 in "Effects of of the Earnings Exemption Provision upon the Work Response of AFDC Recipients," prepared by Robins (1970).

question, "You would like to get off welfare by earning enough money on your own." Further, only two percent of the men and 16 percent of the women responded positively to the question, "You would prefer to receive more money from welfare rather than from a job of your own."

Those receiving welfare as a supplement to low paying or part-time employment or are ex-welfare recipients express even more positive attitudes towards work than do recipients receiving their entire support from welfare as found by Burnside (1971) and Feldman (1972). Both report that the salary earned was the highest source of motivation for these women to work. Most frequently mentioned reasons for employed AFDC mothers working found by Burnside apart from the income earned were feelings of pride, diversion from family duties and housework, independence and increased self-reliance of children.

Employed ex-AFDC mothers also, however, mentioned some disadvantages of working. Feldman (1972) reports that though the mothers wanted to work in order to earn money, they did not earn enough to get much satisfaction from the money. Burnside (1971) reports that employed mothers expressed concern about child care and the feeling that they had less time to spend with their children.

Those AFDC mothers who were not employed reported many more negative attitudes towards working than did employed mothers. Unemployed mothers, like the employed mothers, mentioned the problems of child care and the low wages they might earn. Burnside (1971) also found that the unemployed mothers also stressed the high expenses of working, other domestic responsibilities and personal health problems as deterrants to employment. She found that unemployed mothers were more apt to say that mothers should stay home with their children. Feldman (1972) also found that unemployed AFDC mothers were more apt to express the attitudes of the traditional housewife, and their concerns centered around children, home, the extended family and friends rather than employment. Feldman also found that more of the non-employed AFDC recipients felt that their husband and children would suffer and that their husbands would respect them less were they to go to work.

Summary: Attitudes toward work. These studies have all reported that most AFDC recipients express positive attitudes towards work. Burnside (1971) sums up the investigation of the employment potential of AFDC women in six states by saying that

> . . . the AFDC women subscribe to the work ethic regardless of their employment status is indicated by the items they emphasized in listing the advantages of working. They believed that employment would bring independence and pride to them and a better standard of living to their families. (p. 4.)

Robins (1970) summarized his findings in this statement:

> In general, expressed attitudes toward work are surprisingly favorable -- probably more so than might be expressed by a group of well-paid professional people. (p. 64.)

Though people do not always behave in ways congruous with their attitudes, the reports of these studies would tend to refute the myth of the welfare recipient prefering to collect welfare rather than working.

Commitment to Employment

Merely because most AFDC recipients report positive attitudes towards work or say that they intend to work in the future does not necessarily mean that they will work. Important in their eventual actual work behavior is a commitment to work. Feldman (1972) points out that, "There is a social expectation that women should have a low level of work commitment in comparison to men. This low commitment is attributable to women's greater home commitment and a lower opportunity level for them." (p. 64 .) The author then examined the commitment of employed and nonemployed mothers as shown on the Table below:

TABLE 1

Employment Effect for the Work Commitment Items:
"How much do you agree or disagree with these statements?"

Item	Employed	Nonemployed	p	Overall mean
A mother on welfare who cannot earn more money by working should stay on welfare.	2.47	1.95	.001	2.11
To me, work is nothing more than a way to make a living.	2.31	1.96	.001	2.08
A paid job gives more prestige to a woman than a housewife.	1.67	1.66	n.s.	1.66
It is more desirable for a mother of preschoolers to be home.	.68	.51	.01	.57
Overall mean	1.78	1.52	.01	1.61

For the four items asked, the higher the score, the greater the commitment to work. As indicated by the Table, employed women had a greater commitment to employment, though in one case, the prestige afforded a paid job, the difference was minimal and not significant. In general, both groups of women had a low commitment to employment. The last item had the highest potential loading for home commitment, and the women strongly agreed that it was more desirable for a mother with preschool children to remain at home. Only 10 percent of all respondents disagreed with this statement to any degree at all. In discussing these findings, Feldman points out that program planners cannot assume that job training, transportation, educational programs or financial incentives by themselves will necessarily result in women accepting jobs. As the low commitment to employment, and conversely, the high commitment to home indicates women will need to feel that the home will be taken care of before they seek employment. Many welfare mothers, like many women not on welfare, consider being a wife, mother, and homemaker a full-time responsibility in itself. This appears to be most true for mothers with preschool children. The report on findings of the 1971 AFDC study indicates that more than 37 percent of mothers are needed in the home, and note that this is probably due to the increase of young AFDC children.

Although no studies were located which examined the commitment of unemployed men to employment, Robins did report that 16 percent of the men in the sample were in school or in training for employment, another 16 percent were looking for employment, and eight percent had been laid off temporarily. Thus, half of the men showed behavior which indicated a commitment to or expectation of working.

Employability of AFDC Recipients

In addition to attitudes towards work and commitment to work, measures of employability include work history, job stability, recency of employment, type of work pursued, education, child care needs, and general health.

Work history, job stability and type of employment. Burnside (1971) points out that someone who has worked usually is more employable than one who has not, and on this particular criterion most of the AFDC mothers in the six states she sampled were potentially employable since most had been employed as the table below indicates:

TABLE 2

	Employed full- or part-time (percent)	Unemployed but previously employed full-time (percent)
California	30	40
Maine	22	65
Maryland	19	59
Minnesota	24	57
New York	20	56
Oklahoma	18	40

Robins (1970) found that virtually all of the men currently receiving AFDC had worked at some time in the past, and 86 percent of the women had also been employed at some time. Nearly 60 percent of the men in this study reported that they had been employed all or most of the time in the previous three years; only 33 percent of the women reported this high a frequency. Burnside (1971) found that among the AFDC women who were employed or who had been employed, two in 10 had spent two or more years in the same job. At least three in 10 of those previously employed had left their last job in the past two years.

Burnside (1971) reported that, "Nationwide, service work is the usual occupation of four in 10 AFDC women who have worked. Service work includes private household and domestic work and nondomestic jobs such as waitress, nurse's aid, and hairdresser." For all females in the U.S. population, service work accounts for 22 percent of workers.

Robins (1970) investigated the previous earnings of the AFDC fathers and mothers in his sample and found that while 72 percent of the men had earned more than $400 a month at some previous time, only 11 percent of the women had ever earned that much. Robins states, "In general, it is clear that welfare recipients are not used to high incomes. The financial adjustment from an independent employed status to a dependent welfare status may not be great, ignoring for now the psychological adjustment." (p. 43.)

Education. The findings of the 1971 AFDC study indicate that 22 percent of the mothers and 12 percent of the fathers were known to have completed high school. Nearly 12 percent of the fathers and 16 percent of the mothers reported less that a seventh grade education. Burnside (1971) found that in most of the six states investigated, employed AFDC mothers were better educated than unemployed AFDC women, whether or not the latter had ever worked full-time. She found that between 24 and 54 percent (depending on the state) of the mothers were high school graduates, but only between 12 and 37 percent of the unemployed AFDC mothers had completed high school. Burnside also found that while 11 percent of the mothers in California were currently enrolled in training programs, none of the mothers in Oklahoma were, although 13 percent of the Oklahoma women reported that they were awaiting such enrollment. These studies support the well known finding that the educational level of the men and women receiving AFDC is considerably below that for the general population.

Child Care. Child care responsibilities have been found repeatedly to be a major barrier to employment for many AFDC mothers. The 1971 AFDC study found that nationally more than 37 percent of the mothers were judged to be needed in the home. Robins (1970) found that 51 percent of the mothers reported that child care responsibilities were the major reason for failing to seek employment. Feldman (1972) reports that 39 percent of the mothers in the sample had preschool children. He also points out that "The nonemployed had more preschool children than the employed. The presently welfare had more than the formerly welfare and the husband-present had more preschoolers than the husband-absent." (p. 39.)

The presence of preschool children is not always a determining factor in whether or not welfare recipients work, since as Feldman points out, "among the welfare group, 59 percent of those with no preschool children did not work while 36 percent did work who had one or more preschool children at home." (p. 40.) In discussing these findings, Feldman comments:

> The presence and number of preschool children varied by employment, welfare, and marital status. The nonemployed, welfare, and married women had the most children. The interesting findings were the number of welfare women who worked even though they had preschool children at home and those welfare women who did not work even though they had no preschool children. This suggests that although the presence of preschool children was important, other factors need to be considered in regard to women's employment. The presence of a husband in the home did not result in more preschool children for the employed, but had a marked effect for the nonemployed. Working women were not having more children. (p. 42.)

Health problems. The AFDC 1971 study reported that about 12 percent of mothers were incapacitated. Robins (1970) found that about 35 percent of the total sample of men and women were not seeking employment because they were sick, and another 11 percent said that sickness in the family prevented them from seeking employment. Feldman (1972) found that 39 percent of the women reported that illness was somewhat or very much a problem. Greenleigh Associates (1969) found that only 21 percent of the men and 26 percent of the women in dependent households did *not* report a serious health condition or handicap. In one of the studies with data used for the reanalysis, Greenleigh Associates found that 29 percent of the welfare families had either been diagnosed or were suspected of having a mental health problem. Feldman (1972) also found that the unemployed AFDC mothers had more serious illnesses, were less satisfied with the state of their health, and reported more serious illnesses for their children than did employed mothers. Health problems then, may be considered a serious barrier to employment for a considerable portion of the welfare population.

Societal Barriers to Employment

While lack of basic education, lack of training, sporadic employment in low paying jobs or no previous employment at all, and poor physical or mental health are impediments in the individual to employment, barriers to employment exist in the society also. These include lack of available child care facilities, discrimination because of minority or handicapped status as well as the lack of availability of jobs.

Lack of available child care services. Profiles on Children, prepared for the White House Conference on Children (1971) found that only six percent of the children of working mothers were cared for in group day care centers. The Westinghouse survey (1971) found that 124,000 children were on waiting lists for center based day care. The need for day care services has been documented by numerous studies (see Chapman and Lazar, 1971 for a discussion of some of these studies), by organized women's groups, by labor, and by Welfare Rights Organizations. Until the need for child care facilities has been met, many AFDC women will continue to be frustrated in their efforts to become employed.

Lack of availability of jobs. With an unemployment rate close to six percent, lack of available jobs is a major societal barrier to employment. During 1971, 6,671,600 individuals* received at least one unemployment compensation check. For the week of June 3, 1972, 1,674,671 individuals[*] received unemployment compensation checks. However, as Blausten (1968) points out, it is estimated that "not even as many as half of the unemployed are drawing unemployment compensation at any given time. In recent years, the proportion has averaged closer to one-third." (p. 23.) The hardcore and long-term unemployed have often exhausted benefits, if they ever had such benefits.

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*U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Manpower, Office of Employment Security/Actuarial and Research Unemployment Service.

In a tight labor market, many more people are considered "unemployable" as pointed out by Greenleigh Associates (1969): "Personal characteristics such as low educational level, poor work record, orlack of work experience may be associated with unemployment or underemployment in a slow labor market, but do not necessarily exclude workers from employment when the demand for labor is high." (p. 12.)

Discrimination. Since over 43 percent of the families receiving welfare are black, it may be presumed that at least a part of their difficulty in obtaining work is due to discrimination, overt or subtle, on the part of employers. About 81 percent of all AFDC families are headed by women. As Greenleigh Associates have pointed out, "The female family head as a breadwinner for herself and her children suffers many handicaps as a wage earner . . . . She is discriminated against in hiring and in level of pay." (p. 18.) The very status of being a woman is frequently a barrier in the employment market. At least some of this discrimination may well be based on employer's experiences with women employees, since, as Feldman points out, one-third of employed women in the sample had been absent from work more than 20 days in the past year. Further, pregnancy and child care problems were frequently the reason why women left their jobs, indicating that many women need supportive services in order to be reliable employees.

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[*] U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Manpower, Office of Employment Security/Actuarial and Research Unemployment Service.

Summary of Attitudes Towards Work, Employability and Barriers to Employment

All studies reviewed report that the majority of AFDC recipients, both men and women express very favorable attitudes toward work. Studies also indicate that a sizable minority of these recipients are employable in that they have worked previously, look forward to working in the future and have an educational level which might allow them to find employment. Robins (1970) summarized his findings as follows:

> There appear to exist only rather weak attitudinal barriers to employment suggesting that if such structural barriers as physical disabilities, child-care problems and transportation problems could be removed, welfare recipients could be encouraged to seek employment if reasonably well-paying jobs for which they were qualified (or made qualified) were available. (pp. 64-65.)

Many unemployed, however, face formidable barriers to employment. Personal impediments for a large number of welfare recipients include lack of basic education, little or no work history, poor health, and many household responsibilities including young children. Societal barriers include lack of child care facilities, a tight job market and discriminatory hiring practices.

After reanalyzing data from 14 household surveys conducted with a total of 5,847 low-income and welfare families, Greenleigh Associates (1969) summarized by saying,

> It now appears unlikely that our society will be able to mount programs which will enable any substantial numbers of these people to enter the mainstream of our economy and our social life. The problems are so vast, so complex, and so costly that adequate remedial programs would require enormous

> public expenditures. There is no evidence to suggest that the American public is ready to commit such a large share of its national wealth to these efforts.
>
> Pessimistic as this conclusion may seem, it is nevertheless a realistic view based on appraisals of what would be involved if comprehensive and well-planned programs were undertaken. (pp. 26-27.)

The precise number of welfare recipients who can eventually be expected to find employment is beyond the score of this paper. Rather, the important question raised by these data is, "What are the effects on the self-concept, self-image and parenting of individuals who have worked, who report favorable attitudes toward work, who say that they intend to work in the future, but who are not (for whatever combination of reasons) employed, and who in fact may have no realistic hope of future employment?" This issue will be examined in part three of this paper.

IMPACTS ON THE FAMILY OF VARIOUS TYPES OF INCOME SUPPORT

Many government economic programs and policies affect the family in both direct and indirect ways. Wage policies may in part determine family income. Tax policies lead to a greater equalization of income among families. FHA insured housing has resulted in widespread home ownership by middle class families with their consequent move to the suburbs. Old Age Assistance payments have made it possible for many older people to live separately from their children and relatives, and thus furthered the nuclear family as the modal family in America. However, as Schottland (1969) has stated, "In view of the significant interaction between the family as an institution and government economic policy, it is surprising how little attention has been given to a 'family policy' by the United States government." In this chapter three of the major impacts of government economic supports on the family are examined: the impact on the economic status of the family, the impact on the structure of the family, and the impact on various psychological aspects of family members including self-esteem and morale.

Economic Impact on the Family of Various Types of Income Support

Benefits paid under the various federal social insurance programs are generally low. At the end of fiscal 1968, the average monthly benefit under Social Security for a retired worker was $98.33; for the same period, the average Survivors Benefit for a widow or widower was $87.91, and the average monthly payment to a disabled worker was $111.63. A news release by the

Department of Labor on July 25, 1969 indicated that the average *weekly* unemployment benefit was $43.43, and the average duration of such benefit was 11.6 weeks. Since these payments are based on some fraction of previous wages, families do not receive as much income from these programs as they did when the wage earner was employed.

Given the low earning potential of most welfare recipients, the question may be raised as to whether a family is *economically* better off if one or both of the adults are employed. Several studies indicate that while full-time employment, employment as a supplement to welfare, or a stipend paid during work training may still leave a family in poverty, most families do benefit financially for such employment or training.

Feldman (1972) found that women who had been on welfare, but were now off welfare and currently employed earned an average of $2.11 per hour, while women still on welfare and supplementing their allotments earned an average of $1.91 per hour. The total income, including welfare, income earned by the wife and husband if present, and child support paid by an absent husband, was greater for families in which the woman worked whether the family was on or off welfare. Total income in families where the woman worked was $5,899 a year; for the families in which the woman was not employed, total annual family income was $4,300. It should be pointed out, however, that employed women had significantly more education than the unemployed (means = 10.77 vs. 9.88) and the ex-welfare had more education than those presently on welfare (means = 10.70 vs. 9.88). The employed, ex-welfare woman's level of education was the highest (mean = 11.01). Thus, though employment of ex-welfare recipients clearly led to higher economic status, what the data seem to suggest is that the better education woman may be more likely to become employed as well as to get off welfare.

Families who had formerly been on welfare but were now off welfare had a total family income of $6,468 while those presently on welfare had a total family income of $4,130. Thus, the employed ex-welfare were economically far better off than the currently dependent, though again, this difference may be related to demographic differences in the sample. Feldman (1972) makes the following comments on the study:

> This study was underway after New York State had begun to allow employed welfare women to retain some of their earnings while receiving a welfare supplement. This resulted in these welfare women having a somewhat better standard of living but they were not earning as much as the formerly welfare. Amount of money is one criterion for the difference between being on and off welfare. The two extreme income groups were the employed formerly welfare, husband-present, contrasted with nonemployed, presently welfare, husband-absent, ($7,962 vs. $3,378).
>
> For economically poor women, working, being off welfare and marrying apparently paid off. A change towards any of these circumstances meant an increase in income for her. (p. 38.)

In the preliminary investigation of the effects of the earnings exemption provision on the work response of AFDC families, Robins (1970) found that more than a half a year after officially enacted, "only a very small percentage of respondents were aware of the policy, even fewer were able to articulate any relevant information about it." (p. 104.) In fact, only nine men and 21 women reported having obtained a job as a result of the new policy. Robins did find, however, that many of these welfare recipients had earned more when they worked in the past than when they were receiving welfare payment. The mean maximum ever earned in the past for the men in the sample was $502 per month; for women it was $271 per month. The average amount of the grant paid in the areas sampled was $193 per month. All of the men in the sample reported that when employed their maximum earnings had been more than $224 per month. However, 20 percent of the women receiving AFDC reported that they had never earned more than $199 per month. For these women, income from welfare was not significantly less than their former maximum earnings.

An evaluation of a work training project in Los Angeles, conducted by Dorothy D. Corey (no date) had findings similar to many other training program evaluations. At the end of the training, relatively few of the trainees were able to find employment in the field for which they had been trained (day care). Notwithstanding their disappointed hopes, on a self-rating scale 60 percent of the trainees rated their own economic situation as "better" after training than before. Those who found employment had an average gross monthly income of $300. While training did not eliminate total dependence on welfare, it did result in a fairly substantial increase in the amount of time during which trainees were at least partially self-supporting.

Families in the experimental income maintenanc programs in Seattle, Gary and the New Jersey cities and the two rural sites automatically are better off financially since these programs have been designed to provide larger incomes than welfare. In the Seattle experiment, three support levels were chosen: $3,800, $4,800 and $5,600 per year for a primary family of four persons. Kurz and Spiegelman (1971) state, "The lowest support level of $3,800 was selected because it would be sufficient to bring all family income up to at least the government's poverty line, and would also be just sufficient to exceed (in most cases) the support available from the existing equivalent welfare programs, mainly the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program." (p. 2.) However, as Hausman and Kasper

(1971) state, income maintenance programs will have an economic effect on no more than two-fifths of female heads of households since in the larger industrial states the level of support as presently planned will not be raised above existing levels of AFDC supports. Further, as these authors point out, "the effect of income maintenance programs on the work effort depends upon the relation between (1) the wage rate opportunities of persons in poor and near-poor families, and (2) both the level of welfare benefits and the implicit tax rate on their earnings." (p. 92.)

Preliminary results of the OEO funded New Jersey Graduated Work Incentive Experiment were reported to the Senate Finance Committee (1972). Among the findings reported were the fact that there was no evidence indicating a significant decline in weekly family earnings as a result of the income assistance program. Further, low-income families receiving supplementary benefits tended to reduce borrowing and to buy fewer items on credit. On the twelve months' observation of the total sample, it was found that there was a statistically significant decrease in the earnings of wives. However, on the 18 month follow-up on half of the sample, this difference did not appear.

On the other hand, Robins (1970) found that there was an inverse relationship between employment rates among AFDC recipients and grant size. He states,

> A clear pattern emerges showing higher rates of employment in states with lower grant sizes. There appears, however, to be no clear relationship between the employment rate among welfare recipients and the overall unemployment rate in the cities studied. (p. 41.)

In a study to examine the effects on AFDC recipients of providing a more adequate money grant together with an experienced, vs. a new worker, Olson (1968) found that income from other sources was less apt to increase when families received the more adequate money grant, but most apt to increase when families received the regular grant together with an experienced worker. In this sample, only 21 percent of the mothers were currently married; 80

percent had children under six years of age.

Summary of Economic Impact on Families of Various Types of Income Support

On the basis of the studies reviewed, it was found that most families are economically better off as a result of present or previous full-time employment, of work as a supplement to welfare, and on the experimental income maintenance schemes than they were on welfare, unemployment compensation or any of the other social insurance programs. Preliminary findings of the New Jersey income maintenance scheme are that there does not appear to be a reduction in work effort of the male participants. Preliminary evaluations of experiments to provide a more adequate AFDC grant to families give some indication that there may be a reduction in either work or income from other sources among AFDC mothers when the allotment is raised. Wives in the New Jersey income maintenance experiment were also found to have a temporary reduction in the number of hours they worked.

Judged by previous earnings, it was found that the earning capacity of about 20 percent of welfare mothers is so low, however, they cannot expect to earn more by work than they receive on welfare.

Impact on the Structure of the Family of Various Types of Income Supports

In this section the consequences of various types of income support are examined for effects on marital stability, the size of the family and fertility rates, as well as the internal structure of the family.

Marital stability. Whether or not marital stability is, or should be an issue for social policy, the once married couple is the statistical norm in this society. For all income groups, and all ages, 80 percent of ever-married and non-widowed males were currently married and living with their spouse at the time of the 1960 census, as were 66 percent of males with incomes under $3,000 a year. On this subject, Lefcowitz (1971) states,

> Given the apparent normative definition of marriage to a single spouse with whom one lives over a lifetime, any social policy which has as its direct objective, or indicrect objective, or indirect aim, the encouragement of marital stability is consistent with the values of our society.
>
> Nevertheless, it is also part of our value system that persons whc find that situation unrewarding are permitted to separate and to form new unions. At least 25 percent of the population have not stayed with the spouse to whom they were first married. . . . Thus social policies directed to the maintenance of marital stability should be designed to encourage but not to constrain individuals to what might be an intolerable situation.
>
> Moreover, these policies might best be directed to persons with low-income since the evidence suggests that the stresses and strains of their economic situation make difficult their behaving in directions consistent with the values of a larger society which they accept. (pp. 106-107.)

Research and census data on the family confirm the statement made by the President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs, "the poor form less stable families than do higher socio-economic groups . . . . Family stability among lower socio-economic groups is closely related to place of residence and less closely to race and ethnicity." (p. 112.) While in rural areas, poor families are less stable than middle and upper income families, family breakup is considerably greater in urban areas, as shown by the following table:

TABLE 3

Families With Children:
Percentage of Heads That are Female

	Rural	Urban	Total
Negroes:			
Under $3,000	18	47	36
$3,000 and over	5	8	7
All income	14	23	21

	Rural	Urban	Total
Whites:			
Under $3,000	12	38	22
$3,000 and over	2	4	3
All income	4	7	6

SOURCE: U.S. Census, 1960.

Negro families have proportionately more families headed by women in all categories but these racial differences are small when compared with differences based on income and location. While 47 percent of urban Negro families with incomes under #3,000 a year are headed by women, only 18 percent of rural black families at this income level are. The differences between low-income urban black families headed by women and urban white families is only nine percentage points.

The concern and interest in marital stability have two major foci: the economic impact and the consequences on parents and children of broken homes. As previously discussed, families headed by women are apt to be in the lowest income groups. The effect of father-absence on children is discussed in later section.

Many social scientists believe that frustration associated with financial insecurity, poverty and unemployment drives men to leave home. Frustrations resulting from lack of adequate income are present among most recipients of the various government income support programs including Unemployment Compensation, Workmen's and Disability Compensation, since all of these programs provide an income too low to keep a family out of poverty.

It has frequently been asserted that the AFDC program encourages desertion, divorce or illegitimacy because in 26 states payments are not made to a family if an able bodied man is in the home. Speculation has been that this may encourage fathers to leave in order to make his family eligible for payments. In other states, the AFDC-U program does make payments to intact families with dependent children if the father is unemployed. Objective data on the impact of these programs on marital stability are not available. Such data are difficult to collect and assess, since few fathers or mothers would admit that a marriage had broken up in order to qualify for welfare payments.

In response to the frequent, but not substantiated, assumption that AFDC payments encourage the destruction of marital life, the income maintenance plans have been developed. These plans include employment incentives and do not penalize intact families. These programs have not been operational long enough to assess their long-run impact on marital stability. As Lefcowitz (1971) has pointed out,

> A major problem for experimentation in this area is that the breaking up of a marital union is a relatively rare event. Although less rare over the lifetime of an age cohort, experimentation to be useful for policy, ought to provide results within a three to five year period.

Since low-income is not conducive to marital stability, it would be reasonable to hypothesize that the higher the break-even point in any cash transfer system available to intact families, the more marital stability there would be in the population. In order to test this hypothesis, Lefcowitz suggests that an experiment

> be designed with newly married and first-married families as the unit of analysis. Given the high incidence of marital stability in the first four to five years of marriage and sensitivity of that rate to the approximate poverty line, it would be anticipated that a small sample -- say 125-150 couples in one community -- subjected to relatively few combinations of guarantees and tax rates could provide some insight within three years of the consequences of negative income tax for marital stability. (p. 110.)

Size of family and fertility rates. Orshansky (1968) has shown that families with several children are far more likely to be in poverty than families with fewer children. The President's Commission on Income Maintenance states:

> The long run trend in the United States birth rate suggests that women have fewer children as their income rises. The birth rate has declined as the population has become more urban and children less valuable as producers, as contraceptive devices have become more effective and widespread, and as families have become more mobile and have adapted to an industrialized society: As the birth rate has fallen there has been a convergence towards two to four children families, with a narrowing of the difference between urban and rural birth rates and with fewer childless families and fewer very large families. Increases in family income apparently have been used to spend more on each child rather than to have more children.

Chilman (1967) summarized the findings of selected social and psychological studies related to poverty and family planning and found that the great majority of people approved of family planning. At all socioeconomic levels, the average number of children desired is between two and four, and the basic reason for limitation of family size given by couples is an economic one. It appears that low-income women have a larger number of children not because they prefer large families, but because they have more difficulty in effective family planning. The President's Commission on Income Maintenance programs indicated that high fertility rates among the poor are largely due to lack of suitable family planning information and services rather than to high fertility attitudes. In recent years, population growth has been affected by the introduction of new simpler contraceptive methods such as the "pill" and the "loop." Chilman (1967) reports that "programs for low-income families which offer these newer methods are experiencing a far higher rate of sustained clinic attendance than was true for the past." (p. 6.) The long-range effect of these contraceptives on the fertility rate of low-income families can only be speculated on at this point.

Though there is concern among the general population that AFDC mothers have additional children to raise their welfare payments, there are no direct research findings to support or refute this assumption. However, there are census data to indicate that AFDC families have fertility rates similar to low-income families in general. In 1960, the general population with income under $2,000 had an average family size of 3.792. Welfare mothers (adjusted for age distribution) had an average family size of 3.565. The 1971 AFDC study found that between 1969 and 1971 families with only one or two child recipients increased from 49.6 to 54.2. Over this two year time period, the average number of child recipients per family dropped, the magnitude of the decrease being greatest for intact families. However, since there was also a downward shift in age among AFDC families, this decline may be temporary, since young mothers have not given birth to the number of children they may ultimately be expected to have.

The President's Commission on Income Maintenance examined the relationship between the number of children per family and the average AFDC payments per recipient provided by each state for December 1960 and May 1968.

Correlations between family size and average welfare payment per recipient were computed; no significant relationship was found. In other words, welfare recipients in high-paying states do not have larger families than those in low-paying states. The commission summarized as follows:

> . . . the results fail to suggest that an income maintenance program would induce women to have more children. The data indicate that fertility rates are inversely related to income, even within very low-income levels; that welfare recipients appear not to have significantly higher fertility rates than do low-income groups in the general population; and that welfare recipients in high-paying States do not have larger

> families than those in low-paying States. It appears that family size is related to the level of income, rather than to its source. Low-income families, whether or not they receive welfare payments, tend to have more children than do middle- and upper-income families. (p. 119.)

The relationship between number of children and employment status of welfare and ex-welfare mothers was examined by Feldman (1972). Though women currently receiving welfare had a larger number of children than those previously on welfare, the author reports that these differences were not significant. The total group had an average of 3.95 children. The employed mothers had an average of 3.73 children, and the unemployed an average of 4.02. This difference was significant. Feldman also examined the interaction of welfare, marital and employment status and the number of children and reported:

TABLE 4

Interaction of Welfare and Marital [Status]
on Employment Status for the Item:

"Number of Children"

	means		
	Employed	Nonemployed	
Welfare Husband-absent	3.77	3.53	
Welfare Husband-present	4.08	4.84	
Ex-welfare Husband-absent	2.76	3.29	
Ex-welfare Husband-present	3.97	4.15	$p < .05$

When the number of *preschool* children was examined, it was found that the presence of a husband in the home did not result in more preschool children for the employed women, but had a marked effect for the unemployed (means .36 vs. .60). In discussing their findings, the authors state:

> The cause and effect problem cannot readily be solved, but it is clear that having a husband, not being employed, and being on welfare were elements associated with having larger families. (p. 42.)

It is important to determine the effects of income maintenance programs on the fertility of the population both to predict trends in population and to estimate costs of the program. As Sweet (1971) states, there are a wide variety of ways in which income maintenance programs may influence fertility. He lists some of these ways:

> 1. Fertility goals - i.e., the number of children wanted - may change.
>
> 2. Income maintenance programs might change marriage rates at younger ages.
>
> 3. An income maintenance program might increase the proportion of the poor practicing contraception, or increase the efficiency with which contraception is practiced.
>
> 4. Increased income might result in increased fecundity, (due to better diet, nutrition and medical services.)
>
> 5. Income maintenance might have an effect on marital stability, reducing the rate of marital disruption . . . . The effect of reduced marital disruption ought to be to increase fertility by increasing the risk of conception.
>
> 6. The rate of illegitimate fertility might change as a result of an income maintenance program. (This is based on the assumption that some premarital pregnancies become illegitimate births because the couple feels that they cannot afford to marry.)
>
> 7. One of the most important demographic effects of income maintenance may be to increase the rate of remarriage after marital disruption. . . . An income maintenance program should reduce the costs of marrying a woman with children and raise the rate of remarriage. What effect the increase in remarriage would have on fertility is unknown. (pp. 122-124.)

Sweet also points out that in order to assess fertility goals, a long-term experiment (rather than the present three year experiments) would be necessary. To study the effect of income maintenance on marriage, remarriage and resultant changes in fertility, large-scale experiments would be necessary, since in small-scale experiments recipients of payments might become differentially attractive marriage partners. Thus, among the experimental groups marriage and remarriage might be larger to an unknown degree, than if the experiment were widely implemented.

Family functioning. Few studies were located which examined the relationship between different types of income supports and family functioning, although a number of studies examined the impact of employment of welfare women. Feldman (1972) found that among welfare and ex-welfare women who worked, the decision to take employment had been made more often by the woman, whereas, among women who did not work, the decision was more often made by the husband. Women who did not work reported a higher level of marital satisfaction than those who did work. Employed women also reported that their marriages were less a source of satisfaction and that they had more marital conflict than those who did not work. Again, cause and effect are difficult to separate. It may be that women who got little satisfaction from their marriage were led to seek employment in order to find satisfaction. Feldman also reported that the welfare and ex-welfare mothers who worked perceived their husbands as being less effective and less supportive than those mothers who did not work. They also reported that they felt their husbands were annoyed about the fact that they had less time to cook good meals and care for the house. On the other hand, Burnside (1971) found that working welfare recipients felt that employment not only helped provide a better living for the family, but also provided them with a diversion from family duties and housework. Goodman (1969) as well as Dorothy D. Corey (no date) found that trainees in Work Experience and Training Programs reported improvements in their family lives after beginning training. Goodman found that improvements in family situation were most frequently mentioned by trainees who had been unemployed prior to and employed following the training period.

Olson (1968) examined the effects on AFDC recipients of increasing financial assistance and improving social services. Though few statistically significant differences were found based on either size of grant or expertise of worker alone, the more adequate money grant alone did affect a significant difference in how the families managed their money. Though the differences were not significant, more of the families receiving the more adequate money grant were reported to spend spare time improving the appearance of the house whether they had a new or an experienced worker. Also regardless of the type of worker, families receiving the more adequate money grant were more apt to believe that their health was good or better than a year previously, to participate in community or school activities, and to locate themselves on the top half of a ten step scale rating their lives from the worst to the best possible way of life. Other responses are indicated on Table 5.

Numerous studies have examined the effectiveness of casework or social work intervention on family functioning. These studies have been extensively reviewed by Wallace and Smith (1968). Their review indicates that few of these studies have resulted in significant differences between the experimental and control group when the studies were well designed, executed and thoroughly analyzed. In their own study in Chemung County, Wallace and

TABLE 5

HOW EVALUATION CRITERIA WERE MET BY KIND OF SERVICE AND GRANT

Evaluation Criteria	Total	New Worker		Experienced Worker	
		Regular Grant	More Adequate Grant	Regular Grant	More Adequate Grant
Number	131	34	32	31	34
		Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
1. Participant in past six months usually had enough to eat:					
a. for breakfast		88.2	100.0	87.1	94.1
b. for lunch		85.3	96.9	90.3	94.1
c. for dinner		85.3	100.0	90.3	94.1
2. Participant had not gone without food for a whole day or longer in the past six months		91.2	100.0	93.5	100.0
3. During the past month, participant did not worry about money matters		20.6	40.6	19.3	38.3
4. During the past month, participant was able to manage the way he spent money as well or better than last year		60.6	96.8	60.0	84.8
5. Participant was not dissatisfied with housing and living conditions in the past six months		61.8	67.7	77.5	70.6

6.	Participant frequently spent spare time improving appearance of house in last six months	17.6	46.9	29.0	38.2
7.	Participant would prefer to work next year	84.8	80.6	83.9	93.8
8.	Participant was of normal weight at time of follow-up, rather than over or under weight	44.1	53.1	58.1	66.7
9.	Participant was not kept from usual duties by illness seven days or more in past six months	52.9	53.2	58.1	76.4
10.	Participant believed health as good or better than a year ago	55.8	75.0	74.2	91.2
11.	During the past six months, participant saw physician for a health examination or check-up not connected with a specific illness or condition	14.7	31.3	25.8	23.5
12.	Participant had plans to see a physician for a check-up even when not ill	32.4	46.9	40.0	50.0
13.	Participant was usually happy in the past month	73.6	90.7	83.9	85.3
14.	On a ten-step scale from the worst possible to the best possible way of life, participant located self on upper half of scale	29.4	56.4	48.4	58.8
15.	Participant frequently participated in activities with friends or relatives in the past six months	41.2	56.3	48.4	52.9
16.	Participant had taken part in community or school activities in the past six months	0.0	15.6	3.2	8.8

found a "small but statistically *non*-significant margin of improvement" in 50 multi-problem families after two years of service by trained caseworkers.

Summary of Relationship Between Income Support Programs, Marital Stability, Number of Children and Family Functioning

Low-income families are less stable than middle- and upper-income families. Though it is often asserted that present welfare programs encourage the breakup of the family, objective data to support this contention are not available. Income maintenance plans and the AFDC-U program which make transfer payments available to families with underemployed, unemployed or disabled fathers do not penalize intact families or encourage single parent status.

Though some data exist to indicate that in the past welfare benefits have not increased the number of children welfare families have when compared to other low-income families, these data are inconclusive. In the light of new contraceptive methods and government sponsored family planning services, these data may be even less predictive of birth trends in the future. Income maintenance programs are too new and funded for too short a period of time to yield meaningful data on marital stability or fertility rates. In order to measure the impact of income support programs on fertility rates, long-term and large-scale experiments would be necessary.

Though few studies were located which examined the relationship between types of income support and family functioning, some limited data indicate that employed ex-welfare women find less satisfaction in their marriages than welfare women who are not employed. On the other hand, self-reports of improvement in family lives have been reported by participants in work training programs, as well as by AFDC recipients receiving increased grants.

Impact of Various Forms of Income Support on Psychological Variables of Parents

In this section data are examined relating to the positive and negative consequences of various types of income supports on the parents' views of these programs, their perception of society's attitudes toward them and their self-esteem, degree of alienation and feelings of dependence.

Mead, Cooley and other sociologists have pointed out that the self-concept arises in part from the expectations, attitudes and behavior of others. As Hess (1969) pointed out, "Another way the social system affects individual behavior is through the *individual's growing awareness of his relative position in the hierarchy and of the prestige and opportunities available in the society at large for persons who possess his characteristics and live in his community*." (p. 39.) Self-esteem has been found to be directly related to social class, since individuals tend to internalize society's estimate of them to a greater or lesser extent. What is denigrated by the society may also be denigrated by the individual. Just as welfare recipients report similar values toward work as other Americans, many also evaluate welfare and themselves in much the way the general society does.

Attitude of welfare recipients towards welfare. As part of a continuing project concerning the impact of public welfare policies and operations on family life, Briar (1966) examined the attitudes of 92 AFDC-U recipients towards the welfare department. He found that most recipients viewed welfare assistance as a charity rather than a right, as indicated by the recipients' concept of the aid and whose property it is. One typical statement of a recipient was, "You are going to them for money . . . . *They* are supporting you." When asked if the social worker has a right to know how the aid money is spent, 66 percent said, "Yes." Seventy-six percent of recipients responded positively to the question of whether aid *should* be cut off if funds were not being spent properly. As Briar (1966) states,

> . . . the stance these recipients adopt toward the welfare agency is not that of a rights-bearing citizen claiming benefits to which he is entitled by law but that of a suppliant seeking, in the words of a number of recipients, 'a little help to tide us over until we can get back on our feet again.' (p. 377.)

Both Goodman (1969) and Robins (1970) found that welfare recipients' feelings about being on welfare were mixed. They used the same items to measure the extent of feelings of stigma about being on welfare; the responses from both of these studies have been combined and are presented on Table 6 which follows.

As the table indicates, welfare recipients reported that they felt discriminated against by impersonal business relationships such as landlords, grocery store owners and merchants, but felt relatively little stigma from teachers, relatives and friends. More men on welfare reported feeling that relatives thought less of them because of their welfare status than did women.

When the degree of perceived stigmatization was related to the number of months of employment, Goodman (1969) found that respondents with little work experience were more likely to feel stigmatized for dependence on welfare. Robins (1970) found that in the high grant states recipients' attitudes toward welfare became less negative as the length of time on welfare increased. These findings are somewhat difficult to interpret, but may reflect an acceptance of welfare related to an increasing pessimism about ever getting off of welfare with a resultant rationalization about

TABLE 6

FEELINGS OF STIGMA FELT BY WELFARE RECIPIENTS OF ATTITUDES OF OTHERS TOWARDS FAMILIES ON WELFARE

	Percent Responding Negatively		
	Robins Study		Goodman Study
Welfare Stigma Items	Male	Female	Female
If you wanted to buy a stove on installment (a small payment every month), do you think the store owner would be more willing to sell it to you if you were on welfare, or would he be less willing to sell it to you, or wouldn't it make any difference?	58	63	56
If you try to charge groceries at some store near here, would the store owner be more likely, or less likely, to give you credit if you were on welfare or wouldn't it make any difference?	49	50	42
Do you think your relatives think less or more of you if you are on welfare or doesn't it make any difference?	25	13	14
If you wanted to rent a house or apartment, do you think the landlord would be less willing to rent it to you if you were on welfare, would he be more willing, or wouldn't it make any difference?	35	46	32
Do you think most teachers think less or more of children who are on welfare or doesn't it make any difference?	13	12	15

Data from Robins study based on interviews with 633 males in two cities and 3,490 females in 10 cities.

Data from Goodman, Meyers and McIntyre study based on interviews and questionnaires with 11,632 women in 10 urban and 25 rural counties in 10 states.

society's attitudes towards welfare.

Recipients' attitudes towards being on welfare are bound up with the client's perception of the welfare agency and its staff. Robins (1970) found that while the majority of recipients stated that they felt that the welfare department was trying to help everyone, treated everyone fairly and was trying to help people solve their problems, the majority also said that they felt most of the people in the welfare department did not understand their problems.

TABLE 7

Attitudes Toward Welfare Agency

	Men %	Women %
The welfare department tries to help everyone who needs it	89	80
Most of the people in the welfare department do not understand your problems	46	44
The welfare department treats everyone the same and does not play favorites	70	66
Caseworkers really try to help people solve their problems	81	79
N =	638	3,509

Attitudes of caseworkers towards welfare and welfare recipients. Goodman (1969) found that caseworkers in welfare agencies were almost unanimous in their belief that people in their own communities hold negative attitudes toward AFDC mothers. In fact, caseworkers perceptions of community attitudes were far more negative than those of the recipients themselves. As indicated by the following table, only 13 percent of caseworkers believed that local citizens regard AFDC mothers as "deserving." Only 15 percent of the caseworkers reported thinking that the community would consider their clients "decent."

TABLE 8

Caseworkers' Perceptions of Community Stereotypes of AFDC Recipients

Stereotypes of AFDC Recipients	Favorable Response	Percentage of Caseworkers Believing that Community Attitude is Favorable
Unfortunate	"Yes"	51.2
Scheming	"No"	23.4
Decent	"Yes"	14.9
Immature	"No"	30.5
Maternal	"Yes"	26.6
Immoral	"No"	12.6
Deserving	"Yes"	13.1
Oversexed	"No"	30.1
Stupid	"No"	36.8
Dishonest	"No"	21.3
Conscientious	"Yes"	8.0

The caseworkers themselves, on the other hand, characterize AFDC mothers in a much more sympathetic way. Though not entirely favorable, the caseworkers tend to see their clients as unfortunate, but decent, moral and deserving, as indicated by the following table:

TABLE 9

Caseworker Perceptions of AFDC Recipients

Stereotypes	Percentage of Caseworkers Who Believe that Stereotype Applies to:			
	Most	Some	Few	Hardly Any Clients
Unfortunate	68.7	23.9	4.2	0.6
Scheming	2.6	20.9	47.6	26.3
Decent	68.6	23.0	4.3	0.8
Immature	22.3	57.9	14.7	2.0
Maternal	52.6	36.4	5.7	1.6
Immoral	5.9	32.7	40.4	17.8
Deserving	67.0	23.3	4.6	1.2
Oversexed	3.3	13.1	33.9	45.5
Stupid	3.9	24.8	43.0	24.7
Dishonest	2.7	22.0	47.4	25.2
Conscientious	38.0	46.8	9.4	2.2

Relationship between caseworkers attitudes and welfare recipients attitudes. Caseworker attitudes have been found by Briar (1966) and Goodman (1969) to influence clients perception of welfare and of their relationship to the welfare agency. Briar reports that commitment to a professional organization may reinforce the suppliant role when the characteristics of many welfare agencies are present. He described these characteristics as follows: elaborate complexity of determining eligibility and especially of budgeting, low visibility, for the recipient, of agency decision-making processes and appeal opportunities and procedures; the comparative powerlessness, from the recipients' viewpoint, of the line social worker in decisions made about his assistance grant; the linkage of financial assistance to other services; and review and surveillance of recipient's expenditure of aid funds beyond that necessary to establish eligibility and detect possible fraud. "For the practice of the welfare agency together with the beliefs about public welfare which many recipients hold when they go to the agency appear to evoke a sense of obligation to the agency; this sense may be accentuated if the agency is benign and the social worker is kind, sympathetic and understanding." (p. 384.)

Goodman (1969) found that:

> Where caseworkers were more professionally oriented and more autonomous in the performance of their roles, AFDC recipients tended to feel less able to influence public bureaucracies (more poerless), but also less stigmatized by their welfare status. On the other hand, where most of the case workers were client-oriented and committed to careers in public welfare, their clients felt both more stigmatized, and paradoxically, more influential vis-a-vis the welfare department and other public service institutions. In the more affluent counties, mainly in northern states, and where welfare rights organizations were present, these relationships were more pronounced than they were elsewhere. (p. xv.)

Alienation, powerlessness, work and welfare. Goodman also investigated feelings of alienation as related to work . Alienation items included such statements as:

> Most people don't really care what happens to the next fellow.
>
> The people who run our government have to keep a lot of things quiet if they want to stay in office.
>
> Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
>
> It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

Goodman reports that there is a fairly strong tendency for respondents with more work experience during the three-year period prior to the study to be less alienated than those with less. The mean alienation scores of Negroes and Mexican-Americans generally diminish as months of employment increase, but are very high for those respondents who worked during all 37 months. Goodman offers an interpretation of these data: a high level of alienation is found among those who still remain poverty-stricken after years of employment.

Goodman also found that the degree of alienation was related to the size of the grant to AFDC recipients: the larger the grant, the lower the level of alienation. Olson (1968) found that an increase in the size of the grant together with an experienced case worker led to an improvement in the clients' self-rating of morale.

Robins (1970) investigated feelings of powerlessness in dealing with the welfare department and medical facilities.

Feelings of Powerlessness

	N = 638 Males %	N = 3,509 Females %
Could do something to get good medical attention.	60	48
Could find out about welfare department's decisions.	42	34
Could do something about a welfare decision you thought was wrong or unfair	65	57

Mean total powerlessness score (a high score indicates feelings of powerlessness.)

Males	5.6
Females	6.2

Both men and women felt more able to change a welfare decision they considered wrong and to get good medical attention than to find out about a welfare department's decision.

Goodman also investigated feelings of powerlessness in relation to these two institutions and found that respondents in states which paid larger grants and imposed less stringent eligibility requirements tended to be more confident that they could influence the welfare department and other public institutions. No correlation was found between the number of years of employment and the degree of feelings of powerlessness in dealing with bureaucracies.

Self-esteem and its relation to work and welfare. As previously discussed, income from employment is the major source of support for most Americans, and most welfare recipients express the intent to work and support themselves. At the time the interviews in the Goodman (1969) study were conducted, 30 percent of the sample were working for pay. Those working included 20 percent of those presently on welfare, over 50 percent of those previously on welfare and 22 percent of those judged ineligible for welfare. Regardless of the welfare status, the mean self-esteem scores on a Semantic Differential Scale were found to be higher for those who were working than for those who were not:

Mean Self-esteem Scores, by Welfare Status
and Employment Status at Time of Interview

Employment Status	Active	Closed	Ineligible
Employed	3.9	4.1	4.0
Unemployed	3.3	3.5	3.3

Though there is a clear relationship between self-esteem and current employment, these data do not allow for any determinant of cause-effect. It might be equally possible that welfare recipients with a higher self-esteem are more apt to be employed as it is that employment raises the self-esteem of welfare recipients. However, Goodman also found that self-esteem among this sample was related to the number of months of employment during the three year pre-survey period as indicated on the following table:

Mean Self-esteem Scores,
by Number of Months of Employment

Number of months	Mean Score
None	3.2
1 - 12	3.5
13 - 24	3.7
25 - 36	4.0
37 or more	4.0

(Range 0 - 7)

Goodman stated:

> Self-esteem scores were also progressively higher for respondents who combined employment and assistance for longer and longer periods of time. Conversely, self-esteem declined as the number of months of dependence on welfare increased. (p. xvi.)

This analysis would indicate that it was the situation of employment which led to an increase in self-esteem rather than that those with higher self-esteem were more apt to be employed.

Goodman also found that those individuals with more years of schooling had higher self-esteem scores, and were more apt to be employed, and questioned whether the higher self-esteem scores were related to education or employment. When number of years of education was controlled for, Goodman found that those persons with less than a high school education who have a record of employment have higher self-esteem scores than those who have worked less or not at all. When current employment at the time of the interview was examined and education was controlled for, it was again found that self-esteem scores were higher for the employed than the nonemployed. Thus, the higher self-esteem scores appear to be related to employment.

In a study of 1,200 families with incomes below the poverty line in California, Stone and Schlamp (1966) report that the loss of work and the acceptance of welfare influenced nearly every aspect of life: social, psychological and economic. Even though their previous employment had provided little in the way of status, occupational prestige or income, the unemployed men in the sample still viewed income from work as desired goal. In addition to the importance of income earned from work, these men also viewed the social relations involved on the job as of great importance. Similarly, in discussing the meaning of work, the Presidents Commission on Income Maintenance states:

> There has been a proliferation of studies relating to the meaning of work to individuals . . . . These studies quite uniformly conclude that middle-class workers more often look upon their work as a way of life, value their work in and of itself, and attach only secondary importance to the renumerative aspect of the work, while working-class people tend to view their work as a means to an end - money - and are more concerned with social relations on the job, job security, and working conditions. (p. 71.)

As previously noted, Burnside (1971) found that most AFDC mothers subscribe to the work ethic. Feldman (1972) found that the self-concept of welfare and ex-welfare mothers were higher when this ethic was implemented and the women were employed. Employed women in this study had a higher level of self-esteem, perceived themselves as more efficient, more ambitious and better at organizing others than nonemployed women viewed themselves. The employed women had a higher commitment to employment than the unemployed, were ambitious to get ahead and were more interested in getting further education and training. Employed women were also found in this study to participate more in the community, and were more satisfied with themselves as a person, with their health, and with their financial situation.

In examining differences between men and women's preference for work over welfare, Robins found that there was little difference between them in the preference for work because it offered financial independence and more income than welfare. More men, however, were concerned about self-image factors associated with work: 16 percent of the men, but only four percent of the women said that they preferred work to welfare because work would provide self-respect and a feeling of worthwhileness.

Training programs have also been reported to result in higher self-esteem ratings of welfare recipients. Dorothy D. Corey reported that women in a work training program in Los Angeles increased in self-esteem on a pre-post measure even though few of the women found employment in the area for which they were trained. Goodman found that WETP trainees showed enhanced self-esteem and a decrease in alienation when the trainees were successful in finding employment following the training.

Data are not available on the impact on the self-esteem of participants in income maintenance or work incentive programs. Nor does it appear from the published designs of the experiments currently funded that this variable will be examined.

Summary, Impact of Various Forms of Income Support on Psychological Variables Among Parents

There is some evidence that welfare recipients view themselves in ways similar to society's view of them, and perceive welfare benefits as charity rather than a right. While most welfare recipients have been found to report generally favorable attitudes towards the welfare agency itself, the majority report that they feel that staff in these departments do not understand their problems. In general, welfare recipients report that they feel discriminated against by impersonal business relationships such as landlords, grocery store owners and merchants, but feel relatively little stigma from friends, relatives and teachers. Men receiving welfare report feeling greater stigma from relatives than do women. Some evidence exists that the longer people remain on welfare, the less stigma they report feeling.

While caseworkers were found to be almost unanimous in their belief that people in their own communities hold negative attitudes toward AFDC recipients, the caseworkers themselves characterize AFDC mothers in a much more sympathetic way. Caseworker attitudes towards clients have been reported to reinforce clients attitudes toward welfare, and to evoke a sense of obligation to the agency. Where caseworkers are more professional, clients are more apt to feel powerless to influence the agency, but also feel less stigma resulting from their welfare status.

There is a strong tendency for respondents with more work experience to feel less alienation than those with little work experience. The degree of alienation has also been found to be related to the size of the grant: the larger the grant, the lower the alienation. While both men and women welfare recipients report considerable feelings of powerlessness in dealing with the welfare department and other bureaucracies, women report a higher degree of powerlessness.

Self-esteem of men and women welfare recipients was found to decline as the number of months of dependence on welfare increased. Conversely, self-esteem scores progressed higher for those who combined employment with their assistance. Employed women who had been on welfare but were off welfare were also found to have higher self-esteem and a better self-concept than those who were still on welfare and not employed. Employed women, whether still on welfare or off of welfare were found to participate more in the community, and were more satisfied with their health and with themselves as a person. Welfare recipients were reported to have higher levels of self-esteem following work training programs, particularly if they found employment at the end of training.

All studies reviewed reported that self-esteem was lower for both men and women who were receiving welfare than for those who were employed, even if the employment did not yield sufficient income to allow them to get off the welfare rolls completely. No negative impacts on self-esteem were reported for welfare recipients as a result of employment.

The Impact on Children of Various Forms of Income Maintenance

Studies of the direct impact on children of various forms of income support are of two kinds. The first includes a number of studies of child behavior and functioning as perceived by welfare and ex-welfare mothers. The second is a major study which examined the long range consequences on educational and behavioral problems of children whose families have received public assistance.

In general, welfare mothers who are not employed expect that were they to work there would be more negative effects on children than seem to occur when other welfare mothers actually work. Feldman (1972) found that welfare recipients who do not work feel that both child care and possible ill effects on the children are reasons for not working. In a survey of 3,509 AFDC mothers in 10 cities, Robins (1970) found that while 41 percent of the mothers reported no problems with their children, 30 percent reported that their children required more than average supervision and attention, 26 percent said their children had health problems, and 25 percent said the children had problems doing well in school. Emotional or nervous problems and discipline problems in school or out were reported for 20 and 18 percent respectively. Another six percent of the children were reported to have difficulties with the police. While AFDC mothers who did work also reported concern about child care and that they would have less time to spend with their children, they also reported many positive effects on the children. Feldman (1972) found that mothers who worked felt that their children had more respect for them because they were working. Burnside (1971) reported that working mothers felt that their children had increased in self-reliance, and Feldman found that the employed women received a little more help with the housework from their children, although they felt guilty about having the children help them in this way. Feldman also reported that the children of working welfare mothers were doing as well in school as the nonemployed women, and that the children of working mothers were involved in more school activities and had fewer school dropouts. When mothers and children talked with each other, Feldman found that the nonemployed talked more about the child's school work while the employed talked more about the mother's activities, which may have served to broaden the child's horizons and perceptions of the outside world. Feldman reports that there actually were few differences between the children of the employed and the nonemployed. Those differences which were found tended to favor the employed.

It should be pointed out that these findings may be biased since most are based on mothers' expectations and reports of effects on the children. It is entirely possible that those mothers who did not wish to work used concerns about their children's care as an excuse. On the other hand, those mothers who did work may have justified their working by feeling that their children did not suffer as a result of their employment.

Levinson (1969) examined the long range consequences of public assistance on the educational and behavioral problems of 16,322 high school students. (See the appendix for a description of the methodology of this study.) Levinson developed an index of problems for boys which included school dropout, juvenile delinquency, school discipline, scholastic aptitude, scholastic achievement and a multiproblem index. For girls, teenage marriage and premarital pregnancy were added to the six indices for boys. Levinson found that regardles of demographic variables of race, SES, or family structure, students from AFDC families consistently and significantly had more problems than those families who never applied for assistance. Children from AFDC families also had more problems than students whose families had applied for, but were denied assistance. Further, the longer the family received assistance, the more likely are the children to have the kinds of problems examined in the study. Since this was an ex post facto study, it is possible that there was a self-selection as well as an agency selection bias, since policies of public assistance agencies are to assist those in the most need.

Discussion of Impact on Children of Various Forms of Income Support

Though findings from studies providing data on the *direct* impacts on children of various types of income maintenance programs were few, many links are indicated. It is well known that *amount* of family income has many direct and indirect consequences on the behavior of children. Other indirect impacts include the effect on marital stability, likelihood of father absence, the size of the family, and maternal behavior as influenced by self-concept, self-esteem and general satisfaction.

Amount of income. To the extent that any income maintenance program raises family income, positive impacts on children can be anticipated. These positive impacts include the level of physical care, life style and functioning, as well as the many broad psychological variables so often reviewed in the literature.

Marital stability and effect of father absence. The impact of various income support programs on marital stability are important for several reasons. First, families headed by women are far more likely to be low-income families than those headed by men. Then too, many adverse consequences on children have been ascribed to father absence, including aggressive behavior, juvenile delinquency, lack of an adequate sex role identification. and lowered school achievement. The Levinson study (1969) previously described found that delinquency and other behavior problems were directly related to whether or not a family had received welfare as well as the length of time on welfare. McCord, McCord and Thurber (1962) examined the correlates and apparent consequences of father-absence among lower class families. They reported no differences in maternal overprotection or punitiveness between father-absent and intact families. They did find, however, that aggressive behavior was more prevalent among boys from father-absent families, as was high sex anxiety and adult criminality.

Minuchin, _et_ _al_. (1967) studied twelve disorganized lower class urban families which had produced at least two delinquent children, and found that many were fatherless families. The mothers were reported to feel threatened by the excessive demands of the children and to react by disengagement, and older siblings assumed the major socializing agent. Since these siblings had learned lessons on the street, the socialization was often directed against the existing authority structure. Minuchin, _et_ _al_. found that the asocial, aggressive activity which ensued was amorphous and ill defined. The aggression was generalized rather than being object specific.

Lee Robins (1966) found that antisocial, aggressive and delinquent behavior in a longitudinal study of 524 patients was not so much related to the presence or absence of fathers in the home as to the existance of antisocial behavior in the father, and stated,

> Antisocial behavior in the father was associated not only with juvenile antisocial behavior in the patients, but also with antisocial behavior in adults who had been minimally antisocial as children. Antisocial behavior in the father, in addition, was the only childhood variable which predicted that sociopathic persons would not decrease their antisocial behavior with aging . . . . But the findings do not permit any simple explanation of the mechanisms which relate the father's behavior to his offspring's. The fact that separation from the antisocial

> father by his desertion or divorce or by having the child adopted did not decrease the child's risks by seem to suggest a genetic factor, as Rosanoff *et al.*'s (1941) and Lange's (1931) twin studies argue. There are, however, practical consequences of having an antisocial father that tend to increase the number of independent predictors of socio-pathic personality that a child may have: Children of antisocial fathers usually live in lower-class neighborhoods where they are likely to find other children who encourage them to engage in truancy and theft; they receive little discipline because the father is uninterested and hedonistic and because, if he failed to hold a job, the mother must become the breadwinner; they are more likely to be sent to a correctional institution when they come to Juvenile Court because the judge wises to remove them from an environment he considers noxious. These consequences of having an antisocial father tend to occur whether or not the father remains in the home. . . . If the etiological factor *is* genetic, it is still necessary to explain the high prevalence of the disease in men as compared with women, the failure of the few women with the disease to transmit it to their children in the absence of a similar problem in their husbands, and the occurrence of the disease in some children without sociopathic fathers. (pp. 201-302.)

In a review of the literature of the effect of father absence on boys, Herzog (1970) found that of 18 studies, seven found father-absence to be related to juvenile delinquency, four did not, and seven presented conclusions too mixed or qualified to be categorized. In summarizing the findings of this review, Herzog states,

> It seems likely that even if all sources of bias were adequately controlled -- including bias in apprehension and treatment of boys from low-income homes -- these boys would be somewhat overrepresented among juvenile delinquents. However, it also seems likely that the differences, if found, would be dwarfed by other differences, especially those relating to socioeconomic status and to home climate.
>
> . . . .
>
> Moreover, it seems likely that such differences as did survive adequate controls could not be attributed primarily to father absence per se, but rather to precursors, concomitants, and consequences of father absence: stress and conflict within the home, inability of the mother to exercise adequate supervision, depressed income and living conditions (including exposure to unfavorable neighborhood influences), the mother's psychological and behavioral reaction to separation from her spouse as well as to the social and

> economic difficulties of her situation as a solo parent, and community attitudes toward the boy and the family. (p. 61.)

The presence or absence of a father in the home then, is not an isolated variable since father-absence affects many other factors crucial to the developing child. Further studies of the various income support programs are needed to assess the extent to which they enhance family stability.

Size of the family. Size of the family has a direct impact on the lives of children since large families are far more apt to be in poverty than small families. Though some studies exist to indicate that children growing up in large families are less apt to feel that they are happy (Moore, 1965) or to achieve well in school (Douvan, 1966), Clausen and Williams (1970) point out that there have been few studies of the effects of family size upon socialization practices and child behavior. These basic studies are needed, as are studies which examine thelong-range fertility rates associated with various forms of income maintenance programs.

Parents' self-concept. Hess (1969) points out that "evidence has accumulated supporting the notion that parents' self-esteem and esteem for others are related both to social class and to children's behavior." In reviewing the literature of the impact of various forms of income support on the self-concept of parents, it was found that many welfare recipients feel stigmatized in their impersonal business relationships. While welfare mothers report that they feel little stigma from friends, relatives and teachers, men receiving welfare report feeling more stigma from relatives. Data are not available to elucidate how this sense of stigmatization felt by the parents affects the children in these families. It can be assumed, however, that such feelings on the part of the parents are communicated in some way to the children, and that their impacts are not apt to be positive.

The self-esteem of welfare recipients was found to decline as the number of months on welfare increased, and conversely to increase as number of months of employment increased. The sense of alienation of parents was also found to be related to the employment record and to the size of the grant, with more work experience and larger grants resulting in lower alienation scores. Since as Scheinfeld points out in Grotberg's *Critical Issues* (1969), "Parents cannot construe the child's relationship to the world in ways that are fundamentally different from the way they construe their own relationship to the world," parents in these families can be expected to communicate their feelings of alienation to their children.

These studies also indicated that many parents were found to feel powerless in their ability to influence bureaucracies; the degree of powerlessness felt was greater for women than for men. Haggstrom (1964) and Stone, Leighton and Leighton (1966) have pointed out that the sense of powerlessness among the poor is transmitted from one generation to another through inconsistency in disciplining and the lack of stable identification models. Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) pointed out that with a lack of consistency a child may not develop a feeling of autonomy, with the result that the child does not see himself as a change agent. Minuchin, *et al.* (1967) also found that difficulties in developing autonomy among lower class urban children were generated by parental inconsistency. Hess (1969) states, "Perhaps the most significant feature of the social structure is the degree of *power* it awards an individual to control his own life, to implement his plans, to protect his resources, his family and himself." Though no studies were located which *directly* related the source of income to a feeling of powerlessness among children, data do exist to indicate that when parents feel powerless, this sense is transmitted to their children through communication and behavior control strategies.

All studies reviewed indicated that self-esteem of mothers was higher when the mothers combined work with welfare, even if the amount of income earned was not sufficient to lift the family above the poverty level. Welfare mothers who worked *perceived* their children to be independent and more achieving, and also to hold them (the mothers) in higher esteem. This perception itself might lead to enhancement of the mothers' self-esteem as well as to increased expectation of achievement among the children. The impact of such an upward spiral of perception and expectation warrants further investigation.

The White House Conference on Children stated that "Self support and useful employment are essential to self-esteem and human dignity." It also made the recommendation that "job opportunities must be available to all who seek employment." The studies reviewed in this paper would appear to lend support both to the statement and the recommendation.

Summary, the Impact on Children of Various Forms of Income Support

In general, welfare mothers who are not employed expect that were they to work there would be more negative effects on the children than are perceived by those welfare mothers who actually work. When differences in self-reliance or achievement among the children are found, they tend to favor the children of working mothers.

Educational and behavior problems were found to be greater for children in AFDC families than for families who never applied for welfare or for families who had applied for welfare but had been denied assistance. The longer the family had received welfare, the more likely were the children to show behavior problems.

Since the amount of family income has been shown to be related to many problems among children, it can be assumed that any program which raises family income may serve to alleviate some of these problems.

Some studies have indicated that aggressive and/or delinquent behavior of children is related to marital instability and father-absence. The presence or absence of a father in the home is not an isolated variable, however. Father-absence is related to many other factors crucial to the developing child including the increased likelihood of low-income and all its concomitants, the mother's psychological and behavioral reaction to single parenthood, as well as stress and conflict in the home. Income support programs which encourage marital stability address themselves to many of these variables simultaneously.

There are indications that children growing up in large families are less apt to feel that they are happy and are less apt to achieve well in school. Since large families are also apt to be low-income families, these findings may be confounded by socioeconomic impacts. Studies are needed to examine tee effects of various sources of income support on family size and to assess the effects of family size on socialization practices and behavior.

The self-esteem and self-concept of parents were found to decline the longer they received welfare. The degree of alienation and the acceptance of welfare status and dependency was found to increase the longer parents remained on welfare. These negative self-images are communicated to children directly and through behavior control strategies employed by the parents. To the extent that a particular income support mechanism raises the self-concept of parents, a positive impact on the children can be expected.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

When the relationship between various kinds of economic supports for families and the development of attitudes creating dependency or independence, asocial behavior or responsibility among children was examined, it was found that most studies assessed the impact of the income supports on the parents. In attempting to link the various forms of income support to the socialization of children, it was found that many gaps exist both in the conceptualization and in the data. This linkage is not a simple one, for as Hess (1969) has stated,

> First, the child's behavior must be seen as the outcome of both direct and mediated contacts with his physical, social, and cultural environment. Second, it must be recognized that working-class adults mediate between the environment and children's behavior, and that these adults are themselves shaped by the environment in characteristic ways. Their adaptive responses to circumstances of lower-class life will surely be reflected in their behavior as mediating agents. (p. 29.)

Existing mechanisms to provide income support to families were reviewed along with the attitudes of society and of the recipients towards these mechanisms. The family's access to, eligibility for and utilization of these various income mechanisms were reviewed. Attitudes toward work and barriers to employment in the individual and the society were explored. Data were examined on the positive and negative consequences of these various income support programs on the economic status of the family, on the marital status, fertility and functioning of the family, and on the self-esteem, morale, degree of alienation or powerlessness, and attitudes towards dependency of the parents. Direct and indirect consequences on the behavior of children are reviewed. An attempt is made to identify issues, needs and gaps in the existing research as related to each of these areas.

Sources of economic support include income from wages and investments, unemployment insurance, the various social insurance programs of the Social Security Administration, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Job Training and Experience programs and Income Maintenance experiments. It is not a simple matter to separate the impact on children of the *source* of income from the impact of the *amount* of family income since all of the family support schemes in operation for any length of time leave children vulnerable to the many documented hazards of poverty. Family status was found to be related to the source as well as the amount of income, with income from work and personal initiative held in higher esteem than income from publicly subsidized sources. Though many sources of income are in fact subsidized through the tax structure and through subsidies to industry, these are generally not recognized by society as such. Income derived from welfare is generally the most negatively perceived by society and often by the recipients themselves.

In order to differentiate between the impact of the source of income and the amount of income, *further research is needed on the attitudes of society and the recipients of these various kinds of income. Studies are needed which control for the amount of income and compare the behavioral outcomes among the children of these various sources of income including work, welfare, income maintenance, and the various social insurance programs.*

It was found that the availability of various methods of income support to individuals and families varies widely. All studies reviewed found that the majority of AFDC recipients, both men and women, express very favorable attitudes toward work. Studies also indicate that a sizable minority of these recipients are employable in that they have worked previously, look forward to working in the future, and have an educational level which might allow them to find employment. Many, however, face formidable barriers to employment. Personal impediments to employment for a large number of welfare recipients include lack of basic education, little or no work history, poor health in themselves or in the family, and many household responsibilities including young children. Societal barriers include lack of child care facilities, a tight job market, and discriminatory hiring practices.

Further studies are needed to identify the characteristics of the individuals who express the desire to work, have the necessary attributes to find employment, and for whom it is feasible to provide the necessary societal supports to enable them to work. It is also important to identify the characteristics of those people for whom eventual employment is not a viable alternative to public sources of economic support.

It was found that most families are *economically* better off as a result of present or previous full-time employment, of work as a supplement to welfare, and on the experimental income maintenance schemes than they were on welfare, unemployment compensation or any of the other social insurance programs. In spite of the increase in income to welfare recipients as a result of employment, most remain poor.

Preliminary findings of the New Jersey income maintenance scheme are that there does not appear to be a reduction in work effort of the male participants. Initial evaluations of experiments to provide a more adequate AFDC grant to families give some indication that there may be a reduction in either work or income from other sources among AFDC mothers when the allotment is raised. Wives in the New Jersey income maintenance experiment were also found to have a temporary reduction in the number of hours they worked.

These findings raise a number of research issues relating to children which include:

> *Are there differential impacts on children's perception of parents, on their perception of adult roles, and on their perception of work and dependency when:*
>
> *a. parents express the desire to work but are unable to find employment?*
>
> *b. parents state that they prefer to receive welfare rather than work?*
>
> *c. parents combine welfare with supplementary earnings through employment?*
>
> *d. parents receive supplemental income through work incentive or income maintenance experiments?*
>
> *e. parents are able to leave welfare roles and become self-supporting, but remain at the poverty level?*
>
> *f. parents become self-supporting and earn incomes above the poverty level?*

Low-income families are less stable than middle or upper income families. Though it is often asserted that present welfare programs encourage the breakup of the family, objective data to support this contention are not available. Income maintenance plans and the AFDC-U program which make transfer payments available to families with unemployed, underemployed or disabled fathers do not penalize intact families or encourage single parent status. Preliminary findings indicate that the income maintenance experiment in New Jersey had had no impact on marital stability.

The impact of various income support programs on marital stability is felt to be important for several reasons. First, families headed by women are far more likely to have low incomes than are those headed by men, thus leaving children in such single parent homes more vulnerable to the concomitants of poverty. Then too, many adverse consequences on children are often ascribed to father absence.

Research is needed to determine the long-range impact of the various forms of income support including AFDC, Income Maintenance, unemployment and disability insurances on marital stability.

Low-income families have more children than middle and upper income families. Further, large families are more apt to be poor than small families. Though some data exist to indicate that in the past welfare benefits have not increased the number of children welfare families have when compared to other low-income families, these data are inconclusive. In the light of new contraceptive methods and government sponsored family planning services, these data may be even less predictive of birth trends in the future. Income maintenance programs are too new and funded for too short a period of time to yield meaningful data on fertility rates.

Large scale, long-term studies are needed to measure the impact of various sources of income support on fertility rates. The effect of size of the family on marital stability, family functioning and its impact on children's behavior needs further study.

Though few studies were located which examined the relationship between types of income support and family functioning, some limited data indicate that employed ex-welfare women find less satisfaction in their marriages than do welfare women who are not employed. On the other hand, self-reports of improvement in family lives have been found among participants in work training programs, as well as by AFDC recipients receiving increased grants.

When studies have been well-designed, executed and analyzed, few social work or case work intervention programs have been shown to have positive impacts on family functioning.

Further research is indicated on the impact of various forms of income support on marital satisfaction and family functioning.

The self-concept and self-esteem of welfare recipients appear to be damaged in a number of ways. There is some evidence that welfare recipients view themselves in ways similar to society's view of them, and perceive welfare benefits as charity rather than a right. While most welfare recipients have been found to report generally favorable attitudes towards the welfare agency itself, the majority report that they feel that staff in these departments do not understand their problems. In general, welfare recipients report that they feel discriminated against by impersonal business relationships such as landlords, grocery store owners and merchants, but feel relatively little stigma from friends, relatives and teachers. Men receiving welfare report feeling greater stigma from relatives than do women. Some evidence exists that the longer people remain on welfare, the less stigma they report feeling.

While caseworkers were found to be almost unanimous in their belief that people in their own communities hold negative attitudes toward AFDC recipients, the caseworkers themselves characterize AFDC mothers in a much more sympathetic way. Caseworker attitudes towards clients have been reported to reinforce clients attitudes toward welfare, and to evoke a sense of obligation to the agency. Where caseworkers are more professional, clients are more apt to feel powerless to influence the agency, but also feel less stigma resulting from their welfare status.

There is a strong tendency for respondents with more work experience to feel less alienation than those with little work experience. The degree of alienation has also been found to be related to the size of the grant: the larger the grant, the lower the alienation. While both men and women welfare recipients report considerable feelings of powerlessness in dealing with the welfare department and other bureaucracies, women report a higher degree of powerlessness.

Self-esteem of men and women welfare recipients was found to decline as the number of months of dependence on welfare increased. Conversely, self-esteem scores progressed higher for those who combined employment with their assistance. Employed women who had been on welfare but were off welfare were also found to have higher self-esteem and a better self-concept than those who were still on welfare and not employed. Employed women, whether still on welfare or off of welfare were found to participate more in the community, and were more satisfied with their health and with themselves as a person. Welfare recipients were reported to have higher levels of self-esteem following work training programs, particularly if they found employment at the end of training.

All studies reviewed reported that self-esteem was lower for both men and women who were receiving welfare than for those who were employed, even if the employment did not yield sufficient income to allow them to get off the welfare rolls completely. No negative impacts on self-esteem were reported for welfare recipients as a result of employment.

The impact of the various sources of income support on the self-esteem, self-concept, degree of alienation and powerlessness and sense of dependency warrants systematic comparison.

The impact on the self-concept and self-esteem as well as later employment behavior of participants in work training experience needs systematic follow-up. Studies should include trainees who found employment subsequent to training as well as those who did not.

Various forms of income support programs were found to have both direct impact on children and impacts mediated through the parents' self-concept and behavior.

Direct impacts on children were reported when welfare mothers found employment. Children of working welfare or ex-welfare mothers were reported to be more self-reliant and more achieving than those of nonworking mothers. Educational and behavior problems were found to be greater for children in AFDC families than for families who never applied for welfare or for families who had applied for welfare but had been denied assistance. The longer a family had received welfare, the more likely were the children to show behavior problems.

There are indications that aggressive and/or delinquent behavior among children is related to marital instability and father-absence. The presence or absence of a father in the home is not an isolated variable, however. Father-absence is related to many other factors crucial to the developing child, including the increased likelihood of low-income and all its concomitants, the mother's psychological and behavioral reaction to single parenthood as well as to stress and conflict in the home and decrease in parental supervision. Income support programs which encourage marital stability address themselves to many of these variables simultaneously.

There are indications that children growing up in large families are less apt to feel that they are happy and are less apt to achieve well in school. Income support programs which have impact on family size may also affect the perceived happiness and achievement of children.

The self-esteem and self-concept of parents was found to decline the longer they received welfare. The degree of alienation and the acceptance of welfare status and dependency was found to increase the longer parents remained on welfare. These negative self-images are communicated to children directly and through behavior control strategies employed by parents.

Research on the direct, indirect, and mediated impacts of the various forms of income support on children's behavior is needed.

Direct impacts include the relationship between source of income and children's

- *achievement motivation and actual achievement*
- *feelings of dependency vs. sense of autonomy*
- *aggressive and delinquent behavior*
- *degree of alienation vs. sense of involvement*

Research is also needed on the process by which the impact of various forms of income support on parental characteristics is transmitted to the children. Studies in this area would include a comparison of the effects of various forms of income support on

- *the quality of the affective relationship with the child*
- *clarity and severity of disciplinary methods*
- *feelings of regard for self and child*
- *pressures for independence, autonomy and self-reliance*
- *achievement expectation*

APPENDIX

U.S. Department of Labor/Manpower Administration

Feldman, Harold and Feldman, Margaret.

EFFECT OF WELFARE WOMAN'S WORKING ON THEIR FAMILY, January 1972.

Focus was on how employment of the mother influenced her home and personal life and how her home situation was a barrier to employment. Data were from personal interviews, participant observation of a rural pocket of poverty and intensive case studies. The sample for the interview study consisted of 1,325 economically poor women, each of whom had at least one teenage child. The study had a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design, with employed - nonemployed, welfare - ex-welfare (six months off welfare rolls), and husband-present - husband-absent groups. Data were gathered by trained interviewers in an urban area, small to medium sized towns and the rural areas dependent upon them.

Findings, in general, showed working mothers had more effective home life and self-concept but had some marital problems and concerns about care of the home and relationships with their children. The nonemployed had more home and health problems and anticipated more difficulty if they were to work. Forty-two recommendations were made including a training program to increase women's skill in caring for the home and managing interpersonal problems created by their working. An adjunct training program was outlined. The program should start before girls depart from high school. The development of a personal and home skill infrastructure should continue when the mother has preschool children and when she starts working. Special problems were noted about day care centers for working mothers and suggestions made to increase the effectiveness of family day care, care of the child when sick, greater program control, convenient hours and a wider age range, favored family care over nursery schools.

SRS

Robins, Gerald

EFFECTS OF THE EARNINGS EXEMPTION PROVISION UPON THE WORK RESPONSE OF AFDC RECIPIENTS. Interim Report, prepared by National Analysts, Inc., October 1970.

First phase of this study was conducted during winter and spring of 1970; data were gathered six to nine months after initiation of the earnings exemption provision. This provision requires states to disregard the first $30 a month plus one-third of the remaining income earned by AFDC recipients.

Twelve interview sites were selected to reflect geographical spread, high, medium and low grant sizes, and high, medium and low labor markets in a trichotomized typology. Sample: 633 males and 3,498 females. Active cases were selected randomly. Males selected from two sites only; females from other ten. Data gathered by interviews; interview schedule was not included in interim report, but will be available in final report.

Findings: Among unemployed men *not* seeking work, 28 percent report a personal medical or physical problem as do 37 percent of the women. Fifty-one percent of the women report that child care responsibilities are the reason for not seeking employment. Authors point out that the earnings exemptions will not effect these families unless special programs to meet the needs of the handicapped or those with child care responsibilites are developed. Twenty-four percent of the entire sample were employed in full or part-time jobs at the time of the interview. Employment seemed clearly related to the size of the grant in the city, with three times as many recipients employed in cities with low grants as in cities with high grants. However, there did not seem to be any clear relationship between the employment rate among welfare recipients and the overall unemployment rate in the cities studies.

In general, recipients expressed attitudes toward work were extremely favorable, however, 16 percent of the women and two percent of the men responded that they would prefer to receive more money from welfare rather than from a job of their own. Welfare recipients' expressed feelings toward being on welfare were mixed. In general, both men and women feel they are discriminated against by impersonal institutions. For example, 58 percent of the men and 63 percent of the women felt that merchants would be less willing to sell a stove on credit to welfare families. However, most did not report feeling discriminated against by friends, relatives and teachers. Many welfare recipients expressed feelings of powerlessness

Robins (1970), page 2

in being able to get good medical attention, in finding out about a decision made by the welfare department and in doing something about a welfare decision regarded as wrong or unfair.

Study found that more than a half a year after the Earnings Exemption was officially enacted, general awareness among the intended beneficiaries was at an extremely low level. In fact, the specific understanding required to produce behavioral change barely existed at all.

Data were also gathered on child care needs, attitudes and practices, and data were presented without interpretation or analysis. A series of six questions concerning problems with children were asked of the mothers interviewed. Forty-one percent of the mothers reported that they had no problems with their children; 30 percent reported that their children required more than average supervision or attention. Twenty-six percent reported children had health problems, 25 percent that the children had problems doing well in school, 18 percent that the children had discipline problems in or out of school, and six percent that the children had problems with the police.

HEW

Kurz, M., and Spiegelman, R. G.

THE DESIGN OF THE SEATTLE AND DENVER INCOME MAINTENANCE EXPERIMENTS
May, 1972.

Study funded by DHEW completed the design phase as of May, 1972, and is entering the first year of operations which is to run three years. Twenty-five percent of sample will participate for five years.

The Seattle and Denver Income Maintenance Experiments have been designed to test the effects of a negative income tax on an urban population. The effects of major concern are those on work effort of the family members and on family stability. The experiment involves alternative configurations of the negative income tax in combination with a manpower program (including combinations of intensive manpower counseling and training subsidies). The intent of the experiment is to measure both the separate and combined effects of these programs.

Sample is 5,202 low-income families; 1,012 black and 1,156 white in Denver and Seattle, and 866 Mexican-American families in Denver only. Thirty-nine percent single parent families and 61 percent two parent families. Fifty-seven percent of the total sample to be on some financial program; half of remainder on manpower program only, and the other half serve as null controls.

Support Level. Three annual support levels were selected: $3,800, $4,800 and $5,600 per year for a primary family of four persons with adjustments based on actual family size and status.

The Negative Income Tax Programs. Low-income families are provided with support according to two criteria: the income available to the family and the size of the family. The negative income tax has three components: a support level, defined as a sum of money available to the family over a stated time period; a rate of reduction in support, defined as a tax on the income available to the family from other sources; and the time period over which the support is guaranteed.

Positive Tax Reimbursement. As part of the financial payment to the family, any income taxes paid to the federal or state government or any other taxes that vary with income, primarily social security taxes, are reimbursed to the family. The reason for this tax reimbursement is based on the need to control the tax rate in the experiment.

The effects of the program are to be measured by the use of data collected through a process of periodic home interviewing. The likely bias involved is recognized in this plan. Payment will be made for any work-related day care undertaken by members of one-parent families up to the daily welfare limit. The payment will cover expenses not reimbursed by the welfare department.

The Manpower Programs. Three levels of manpower programs are included in the design: counseling services only; counseling plus a subsidy of 50 percent of the direct costs of training, and counseling plus subsidy of 100 percent of the costs of training.

HEW

Goodman, Leonard, Meyers, S.M., and McIntyre, Jennie

WELFARE POLICY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE RECIPIENT POPULATION: A STUDY OF THE AFDC PROGRAM, December, 1969.

The principal object of this study was to determine whether differences in the amount of the grant, in eligibility requirements and in the availability of social services were related to the employability, perception of life changes, sense of family well-being and self-image of AFDC recipients.

Sample: 11,632 total sample included 5,377 randomly selected current AFDC recipients, 2,911 former recipients, 2,389 applicants judged ineligible for AFDC and 955 participants in a Work Employment Training Program. In addition, social workers in 35 county welfare departments were sent self-administered questionnaires.

Findings: Material deprivation is more severe in states with smaller AFDC grants, and this is not appreciably mitigated by regional variations in the cost of living. Deprivation was nearly always greater among active recipients than former recipients, and sometimes greater among ineligibles than active recipients. There appeared to be no independent relationship between deprivation and the number of specified services. The level of material deprivation was not solely dependent on grant size . . .. It was also related to *inter alia,* the individuals's personal resources, or potential for occupational mobility -- the combination of factors including educatonal background, previous job experience, earning capacity, etc.

A majority (58 percent) of the AFDC respondents had been employed for some part of the 37 month period investigated; nine percent worked throughout. For one-third, welfare was the sole source of income, but for most it was either a supplement to employment or a periodic alternative. Non-white women at every level of education had longer work records than white women. Work history proved to be related to certain attitudes, notably self-esteem and alienation. The greater the number of months of employment during the three year pre-survey period, the higher the mean score of the self-esteem index. Those who had not worked at all had a mean score of 3.2 (out of a possible score of 7 on the Semantic Differential), while those who had worked 25 or more months had a mean score of 4.0. Further,self-esteem was found to decline as the number of months of dependence on welfare increased. On the other hand, welfare as a *supplement* to employment did not adversely affect self-esteem. These relationships were independent of educational level and employment status at the time of the interview.

Findings regarding alienation were not quite as clear-cut, although there was a fairly strong tendency for respondents with considerable work experience during the three year period to be less alienated than those who had worked little or not at all. The employment record was not, however, related to the sense of powerlessness. Correlations between the employment record and feelings of stigma were negative: respondents with the longest records of employment were least likely to feel that receiving public assistance was unaccepted.

HEW

Olson, Irene

SOME EFFECTS OF INCREASING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AND IMPROVED SOCIAL SERVICES FOR FAMILIES RECEIVING AFDC GRANTS. November, 1968.

This study attempted to measure the impact of health status, family life management, and general functioning of AFDC families given a regualr grant of $1,850 for a family of four vs. a more adequate grant of $2,529 as well as the effects of experienced case workers vs. new workers.

Sample: 196 families were randomly selected from a total of 512 applicants. 98 received usual grant; 98, a more adequate grant; both groups divided between new and experienced workers; 88 percent of sample was white, 12 percent Negro; mean age of mothers 27.8; mean number of children 2.4; nearly 80 percent of all mothers had children under six years of age.

Families interviewed pre-post using an interview schedule designed to determine general living conditions, employment history, amount and sources of income, money management, health status and utilization of medical services, accident and illness problems as well as psychosomatic complaints, personal problems and a self-assessment of general functioning and happiness.

Findings: Few significant differences were found based either on differences in size of grant or type of worker. However, a more adequate money grant alone affected a significant difference in respect to money management. A more adequate money grant together with an experienced worker effected a significant difference in respect to the clients' self-rating of morale. Income from other sources was less apt to increase when grant was more adequate; improved income occurred most frequently in families receiving regular agency grants and experienced workers. Adults with more adequate grants had fewer, but not statistically significantly fewer, incidents of being charged in court with a crime. There were no differences in the number of juveniles charged in courts based on the size of the grant, however, only a total of four juveniles came to the attention of the courts during the period of the study. School records were checked for all children, but there were no significant differences in attendance or grades based on the size of the grant or the experience of the worker. It was found however, that the amount of contact parents had with the school was related to better attendance of the children and improved grades.

SRS

Corey, Dorothy D.

AN EVALUATION OF A WORK TRAINING PROGRAM FOR AFDC MOTHERS IN LOS ANGELES. A Pilot Study Funded by Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act. (No date)

Study evaluated effectiveness of a work experience program to train AFDC mothers as teachers aides between April 1966 and April 1968. Trainees received basic education as well as training in day care centers in Los Angeles. Study attempted to determine relationship between training program and:

a. Individual and family function changes, including child-rearing behavior,

b. Changes in self-concept and selected psycho-social factors,

c. Changes in socio-cultural attitudes and values,

d. Changes in work attitudes and values,

e. Achievement of economic independence,

f. Changes in knowledge, attitudes and practices in family planning.

Method:

Subjects: From a total group of 369 trainees, 43 women were selected as E group

45 controls (no training)

1. Both groups interviewed at beginning of program (Test I) after six months when training was completed (Test II) and on a one year follow-up (Test III). Same instruments and interviewers were used with both groups.

2. Systematic observational study of the day care training program for these and other AFDC mothers in four day care centers in L.A. conducted by Elizabeth Prescott of Pacific Oaks College.

Attrition of Sample:

	I	II	III
E	43	43	39

Summary of Findings:

Nearly all women (with the aid of extensive counseling) stayed in training, but almost none of them obtained employment at the end of training because the job market was tight. Those who did earned about $1.50 per hour.

Positive Outcomes:

- Decrease in anxiety level between T I and T III (increase at end of testing, T III)
- Increase in self-esteem
- Sixty percent rated own economic situation as "better" than before training
- Sixty-eight percent said morale was better
- Shift in attitudes towards middle class orientation on child-rearing (PARI)
- Many trainees were reported to have learned new ways to discipline children other than by force
- Children were reported to "blossom" in the day care centers
- Women showed an increase in informational level about family planning methods.

Negative Outcomes:

Most women were unable to find jobs at the end of training. Since they had had their hopes raised by the training experience, many were disappointed.

Study makes this conclusion:

Short-term work training programs are of little avail for seriously disadvantaged populations unless there is a good supply of jobs and little competition for them by more advantaged people. Inexpensive short-cuts cannot remedy long years of deprivation of the ingredients needed for success.

Levinson, Perry.

THE NEXT GENERATION: A STUDY OF CHILDREN IN AFDC FAMILIES. 1961.

This study utilized data from three sources: Project Talent, (OE grant to produce inventory of achievement of sample of high school students); data from a grant by NIMH to collect data and characteristics and frequency of problem behavior in Mountain View, a town of 250,000; and traced the welfare history of Mountain View community from 1939-1966. Names of 16,322 high school students studied in Project Talent were matched with family names found in agency files for behavior problems and with two local public assistance agencies.

Questions asked were:

1. What are the long range consequences of the receipt of public assistance for children of welfare families?
2. Does the length of time a family receives assistance correlate with fewer or more problems?
3. Do children from families dependent on assistance for more than three generations have more or fewer problems than children from families receiving assistance for fewer than three?
4. Which children do the children from rejected families most resemble - those from families who have received assistance or those from families that have never applied for assistance?

Families were classified by whether they had (1) ever or never received public assistance; (2) if ever, how long, and (3) if ever for how many generations. The first group was subdivided as follows: (1) families in which a parent had ever received assistance, (2) families who had applied, but been rejected for public assistance, and (3) families in which a parent had always lived in Mountain View but who had no record of ever applying for assistance.

The index of educational and behavioral problems for boys included: school dropout, juvenile delinquency, school discipline, scholastic aptitude, scholastic achievement and a multiproblem indices. For girls, teenage marriage and premarital pregnancy were added to the above six indices.

Main conclusions:

Whether the students are from black or white, low or high SES families, or families headed by men, women, or two parents, students from AFDC families consistently and significantly have more problems than those from families who have never applied for assistance.

Children from AFDC families also have consistently more, but only slightly more problems than students from families who applied for, but were denied assistance.

The extent of the problems is greater for Negro girls whose families were rejected for welfare than for those from AFDC families.

The longer the family received AFDC assistance, the more likely are the children to have the kinds of problems examined in this study.

Students from families which close relatives receiving AFDC have more problems than others.

Caution:

This was an *ex post facto* study which did not allow for examination of the level of functioning of the family or the children at the time of the study. The authors point out that "the policies of public assistance agencies cause staff members to strive to assist only those most in need. Our results show that between self-selection and agency selection, AFDC families are the families that have the most problems.

Greenleigh Associates, Inc.

IMPEDIMENTS TO EMPLOYMENT: A REANALYSIS OF HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEW STUDIES. November, 1969.

Data from 14 household interview studies with a total of 5,847 families previously conducted by Greenleigh Associates, Inc., were reexamined to determine whether they offer any new insights into employment among poor and dependent families. Thirty percent of the families were receiving public assistance. These families had a median annual income of $2,039. Sixty-five percent of the families were supported by their own earnings, with a median annual income of $4,234. Dependent families with a male head ahd a median annual income of $1,850; dependent families with a female head reported a median annual income of $2,134.

The authors summarize by saying,

> The greatest impediment to employment suffered by low-income heads of families, both men and women, is their inadequate preparation for the kinds of jobs available in our modern economy. Many are lacking the rudiments of education necessary to read and understand verbal and written directions, to perform simple calculations, and to deal with ordinary on-the-job problems . . .. Because a large number of these unemployed are members of minority racial and ethnic groups they also suffer job discrimination. Many are in poor health and have physical and mental disabilities and chronic illnesses. A substantial segment of the low-income population consists of families headed by women who are even more handicapped occupationally than the men.
>
> It now appears unlikely that our society will be able to mount programs which will enable any substantial numbers of these people to enter the mainstream of our economy and our social life. The problems are so vast, so complex, and so costly that adequate remedial programs would require enormous public expenditures. There is no evidence to suggest that the American public is ready to commit such a large share of its national wealth to these efforts.
>
> Pessimistic as this conclusion may seem, it is nevertheless a realistic view based on appraisals of what would be involved if comprehensive and well-planned programs were undertaken. (pp. 26-27.)

SRS

Burnside, Betty

THE EMPLOYMENT POTENTIAL OF AFDC MOTHERS IN SIX STATES.
November, 1971

A six-State study conducted by the National Center for Social Statistics, Social and Rehabilitation Service, lends support to existing information that many AFDC mothers are employable and willing to work but face major barriers to employment. The study population included all AFDC mothers in California, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, New York, and Oklahoma residing at home and receiving assistance payments in May 1969. Questionnaires were sent to a representative sample of women in each state; there was a 65.5 percent return, for a total N of 558.

Measures of employability included work history, job stability and recency of employment, type of work pursued, education, child care needs, and motivation. Study found that at least two in 10 AFDC recipients were currently employed and another four in 10 had been employed full-time in the past. This employment was primarily at lower levels of service work, including domestic, waitress, nurse's aid and hairdresser. In most of the six states, employed AFDC women were better educated than the unemployed AFDC women, but both groups were generally lower than for the general population. Child care provisions were needed in order to allow many of the unemployed women to seek employment.

Both employed and nonemployed mothers reported that they felt the major advantage of working was for economic and social betterment, the major disadvantages the possible ill effects on the children. In addition to the economic advantage, women felt that work would lead to a gain in feelings of independence and pride, and allow them a diversion from family duties and housework. The three most frequently mentioned disadvantages of working was that the women believed that "mothers should stay at home with their children," that there would be reduced parental supervision of the children, and that they worried about child care. In addition, the unemployed women were more likely to mention the disadvantage of low pay and high work expenses as a reason against working.

Depending upon the state, between 52 and 63 percent of the women answered that they wanted to work at a steady job provided adequate child care were available. Between 53 and 76 percent of the unemployed mothers stated that they expected to work later on. Most unemployed mothers who said they did *not* want to work even if a steady job and child care were available gave domestic responsibility or personal health as a reason.

Author concludes that AFDC women subscribe to the work ethic regardless of their employment status. They believe that employment would bring pride, independence and increase their self-esteem as well as bring economic benefits to the family.

Watts, Harold W.

THE GRADUATED WORK INCENTIVE EXPERIMENTS: CURRENT PROGRESS

The Office of Economic Opportunity took the lead in the field of income maintenance experimentation in 1968 when it initiated work on the New Jersey Income Maintenance experiment. This experiment focuses on the question of the work response of male-headed families to a negative income tax type income maintenance program. The project was carried out under contract by the Institute of Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin with assistance from the Mathematica Corporation of Princeton, New Jersey. The first group of experimental families was enrolled in the project in August of 1968. A preliminary report of the results of this experiment, based on the first year of operation was made by OEO in February 1970. A second preliminary is expected about April 1972.

A total of 1,356 families enrolled. 365 E and 285 Controls in Trenton, Paterson and Passaic. 360 E and 346 Controls in Jersey City and Scranton. E group divided into three groups (Low benefits, 50 percent poverty; Medium benefits, 75-100 percent of poverty; High benefit, 125 percent of poverty). Families return an address slip for which they are paid $ .00 monthly. Receive $20 for filing a monthly income report. All completed a 90 minutes enrollment interview. Families may opt for AFDC benefits (these are larger in many cases for low-income control and experimental groups).

As reported to the Senate Finance Committee,

OEO issued a brief initial reprot of findings from the New Jersey experiment in February 1970, and subsequently a more extensive report of those findings was issued by the Institute for Research on Poverty of the University of Wisconsin in June. Further preliminary results concerning the work effort of participants in the experiment were released by OEO in May 1971. However even the latest findings must be qualified as preliminary in the sense that they are based on only the first year's experience of the total population and 18 months for 1/2 of the sample. Thus some allowance must be made for the possibility of distortions in behavior of the experiment population produced during the start up phase. A brief summary of the New Jersey findings are:

(a) There is no evidence indicating a significant decline in weekly family earnings as a result of the income assistance program.

(b) Low income families receiving supplementary benefits tend to reduce borrowing, buy fewer items on credit, and purchase more of such consumer goods as furniture and appliances.

(c) The Family Assistance Program, excluding the Day Care Program

> and Work Training provisions, can be administered at an annual cost per family of between $72 and $96. Similar costs for the current welfare system run between $200 and $300 annually per family.

The more extensive analysis of work effort response released in May 1971, supports the earlier preliminary findings and further refines the data.

The only statistically significant difference in earning that was found between the experimental and control groups was a reduction in the earnings of wives in the yearly sample. However this difference does seem to disappear at the end of the 18 month period. As a result of the average number of workers per family declining, the total number of hours worked per experimental family is slightly less than for the control group.

However, since there are no significant earnings differences between these two groups, the results imply that the experimental families have significantly increased their average hourly earnings compared to the control group. Indeed, the average family hourly earnings appear to have increased by 20% for experimental subjects as compared to only 8% for the controls.

It is important to note also, that there was no significant differential in the number of hours worked per family among the various income maintenance plans, indicating that the various combinations of tax rates and guarantee levels have not yet affected the number of hours a family works.

There are several plausible explanations for these observations. The availability of a "cushion" in the form of experimental benefits may allow the prime worker the freedom not to accept the first job he can find, but rather to seek one that is more appropriate to his skills and interests and pays a higher wage.

Another view suggests that when a family initially experiences an abrupt increase in income, there will be a tendency to "invest," rather than consume a substantial portion of the increase. Thus we may see an increase in the purchase of durable goods and/or an increase in "human capital" investment in the form of training and/or increased time spent searching for better jobs. Such behavior may account for part of the reduction in hours observed, as well as increased hourly earnings. This approach suggests that labor forc- participation and hours of work would return toward normal and hourly earnings would stabilize at a new (higher) level. The hypothesis can only be tested as data covering a longer time span becomes available.

HEW

THE GARY INCOME MAINTENANCE EXPERIMENT

This experiment sponsored by DHEW will test the effects of a negative income tax plan, combined with day care and social services on black, urban families with particular emphasis on female-headed families who will comprise about 60% of the sample; this particular group is not covered by either of the two OEO experiments. This experiment, like the Seattle experiment will be generally compatible with the New Jersey and rural experiments in terms of the type of income maintenance program to be tested, definitions of family units and income and other basic design criteria. However, each of the HEW experiments will focus on a different issue of major policy concern, in addition to income maintenance financial treatments.

The principal focus of the Gary experiment is on the family work decision and how it is affected by an income maintenance transfer system. The experiment will attempt to measure economic responses, such as labor supply, consumption patterns and investment in human capital, as well as sociological variables such as family functioning, motivation, and asperations. In addition, the project will test the impact of separately administered social services (such as day care, homemaker services, and counseling) in combination with direct cash transfers in order to measure the demand for such services when their provision and acceptance is no longer conditioned upon the receipt of assistance payments. It has been argued that even if a secure basic income floor could be established, there would remain a need for specialized problem-solving services. The magnitude of need has not yet been established, nor has the cost-effectiveness of various service types been determined.

This project is funded by an HEW contract with the State of Indiana Department of Public Welfare. The design and operation of the project is carried by the University of Indiana via a subcontract with the State Welfare Department. Design of the project began in the fall of 1969. Enrollment of families into the project began in March 1971 and should be completed by the end of June. A preliminary report on project results is planned for the fall of 1973 with a final report to be submitted approximately one year later.

VERMONT PRETEST PROJECT

Although this project has frequently been referred to as an income maintenance experiment, its focus is actually on planning the implementation of the FAP program rather than on testing how the system works or how it affects the behavior of individuals. While the project was originally conceived as a full scale pretest of the FAP program, its scope is now limited to (a) the development of a detailed plan for Federal administration of the Family Assistance Plan and State supplemental and adult programs, and (b) the development of a model plan for day care under FAP and expansion of day care families throughout the State. A sample survey of potential FAP recipients to obtain baseline information will be conducted to support these planning efforts.

This project is carried out by means of a contract with the State of Vermont. The project began in July 1970. The six projected analytical volumes have been completed and have been submitted to DHEW. These analyses will be used in implementing the FAP program nation-wide and are as follows:

Volume I	Administrative Structure and Procedures.
Volume II	Regulations.
Volume III	Accounting Period Implications and Options.
Volume IV	Development of the FAP Pretest in Vermont.
Volume V	Report on the Baseline Survey and Cost Projections.
Volume VI	Evaluation and Experimentation in Child Care.

The data from the baseline survey will provide us with detailed information about the impact of the FAP program upon a very significant portion of the FAP population (rural white working poor families, which constitute the largest single group of the newly eligible population under FAP).

The child care component of the Vermont project involves development of a plan for a model FAP child care system and subsequent implementation of the approved plan which will involve an expansion of existing facilities and services throughout the State. This plan has been completed and the implementation phase has begun. The Vermont 4-C has already taken significant steps toward resource development in conjunction with these planning activities.

THE SEATTLE-DENVER INCOME MAINTENANCE EXPERIMENT

This experiments is the most comprehensive of all the urban experiments, serving both white and black families, having either one or two parents present. The experiment is intended to test the combined effect of a negative income tax scheme with a manpower program. Thus, in this particular experiment, the income transfer program itself will be supplemented by one or more manpower programs including (a) job training (b) counseling and vocational guidance services; and (c) day care services for working mothers. The Seattle-Denver experiment includes a population not served to any substantial degree by any of the other ex-experiments, namely one-parent white families, and will uniquely test the interactive effects of income maintenance and manpower programs.

The primary hypothesis to be tested in the Seattle-Denver experiment is that manpower training in combination with a rational system of cash transfers will yield a policy payoff exceeding the sum of the outcomes of the two separate components. The experiment will provide vital information concerning the proper mix of manpower and cash, thereby suggesting the most efficient allocation of scarce government funds in the future. For example, answers shall be sought to such questions as "how much will an additional $400 a year in basic financial support change the work effort of the family. If (a) there is no change in investment in manpower or (b) there is a simultaneous increase in the manpower investment in a family by $200?" The experiment will measure the effects of different combinations of income maintenance support levels and manpower programs by looking at the:

- (a) Work effort of the household.
- (b) Productivity of the household as measured by changes in earnings.
- (c) Investment of the household in training or other education.
- (d) Changes in attitudes toward the future.
- (e) Changes in household stability.

While unemployment in Seattle was well below the national average when HEW first negotiated with the State of Washington for the design of the experiment in 1969, the unemployment rate has since risen precipitously to a current level over twice that of the national average.

This situation posed serious problems for the experiment, which is designed to measure labor suply response both singly and in conjunction with manpower counseling and training.

Ideally, one would wish in such an experiment to have a virtually unlimited demand for the services for the experimental population so that any differences in the work effort of these receiving financial and/or manpower treatments, as compared with the control or null treatment group, could be attributed to the incentive effects of these programs. In a situation of low or declining job opportunities, it would be hard to filter out the differential effects of changes in labor supply and demand unless some adequate control were provided through comparable information gained in a more favorable labor market situation. It therefore became necessary to divide the planned sample between the city of Seattle and another city, as life as possible in terms of the demographic characteristics of its population, but with a relatively high and stable level of labor demand. Denver, Colorado, has been selected as the control for the labor market situation. While this change has caused some disruptions to the project, the overall advantages of this move will be considerable. It will be possible to fulfill the objectives of the original Seattle design, and, at the same time, gain valuable information on the potential effects of income maintenance programs on normal adjustment to the business cycle.

This project is funded by an HEW contract with the State of Washington Department of Public Sssistance. The design and operation of the project is carried out by the Stanford Research Institute via a subcontract with the State Department of Public Assistance. Design of the project began in the fall of 1969. Enrollment of families into the project in Seattle began in November 1970 and is expected to be completed by April 1971. Enrollment at the Denver site is anticipated to begin in August 1971. The Seattle/Denver experiment, like the other three, is designed to run for three years. However, a small portion of the sample (approximately 20%) will continue on the program for two additional years. This extension will serve to verify that the experimental results from the total sample as well as the other three experiments are not unduly biased by the effects of a transitory change in income. A preliminary report of findings of the full sample is expected in the fall of 1973 and a final report approximately one year later.

OEO

THE RURAL INCOME MAINTENANCE EXPERIMENT, The Institute of Research on Poverty (University of Wisconsin)

The Institute of Research on Poverty (University of Wisconsin) under the sponsorship of OEO is currently conducting an experiment in two rural areas (in North Carolina and Iowa) to test the work incentive effects of a negative income tax plan on predominantly rural populations. The population in this test will consist primarily of male-headed families. Families were enrolled into the program in November and December of 1969. A preliminary report on the findings of this project is planned for July 1972, and it will be based on the first two years of operation of the project. A final report is expected a year later.

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